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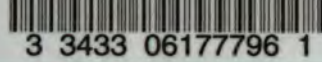
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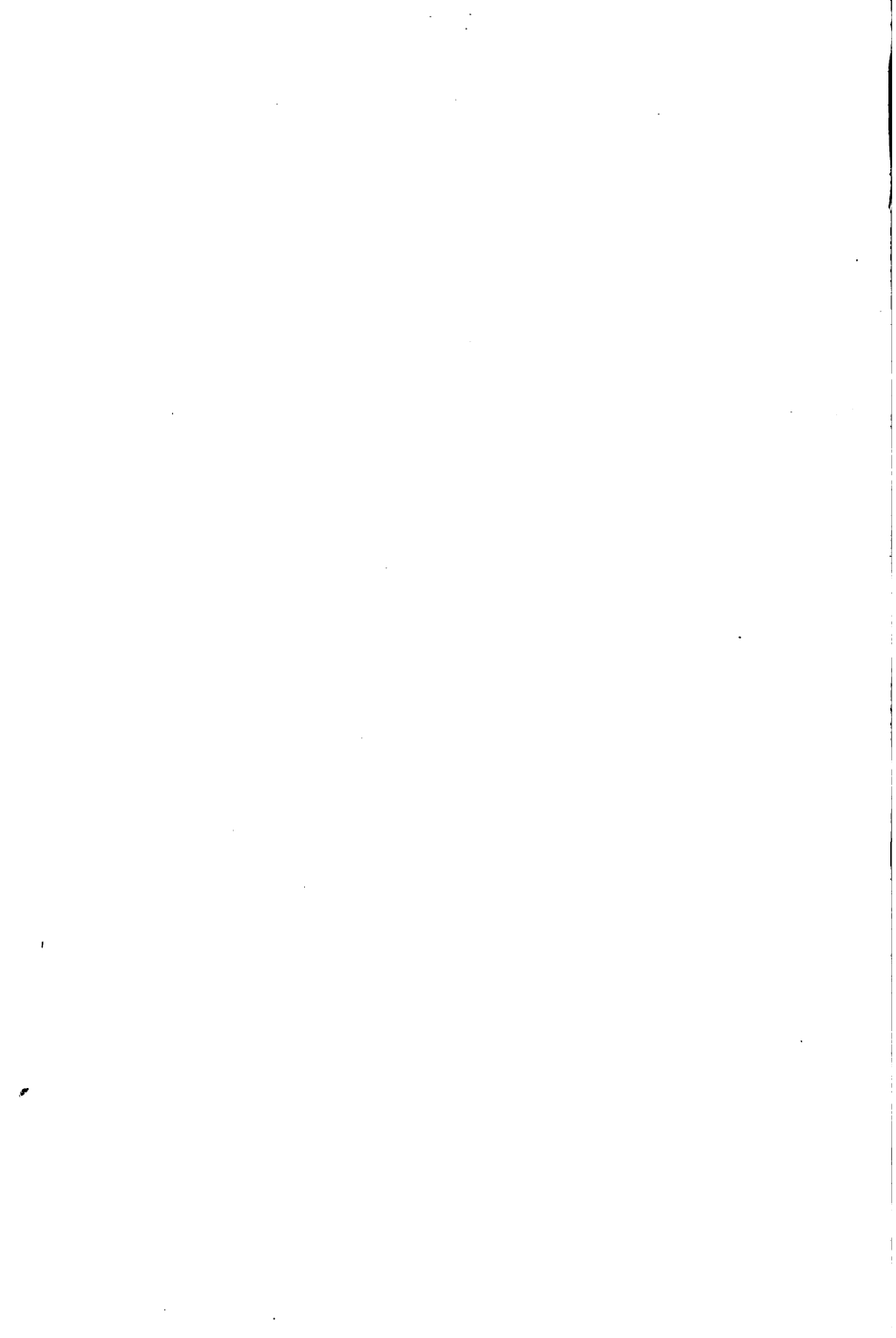


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Empire

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EMPIRE CLUB SPEECHES

BEING ADDRESSES DELIVERED BEFORE THE
EMPIRE CLUB OF CANADA DURING
ITS SESSION OF 1905-06

EDITED BY

J. CASTELL HOPKINS, F.S.S.

THIRD YEAR OF ISSUE

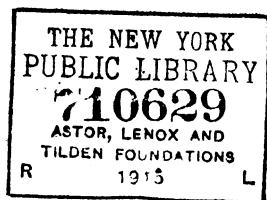
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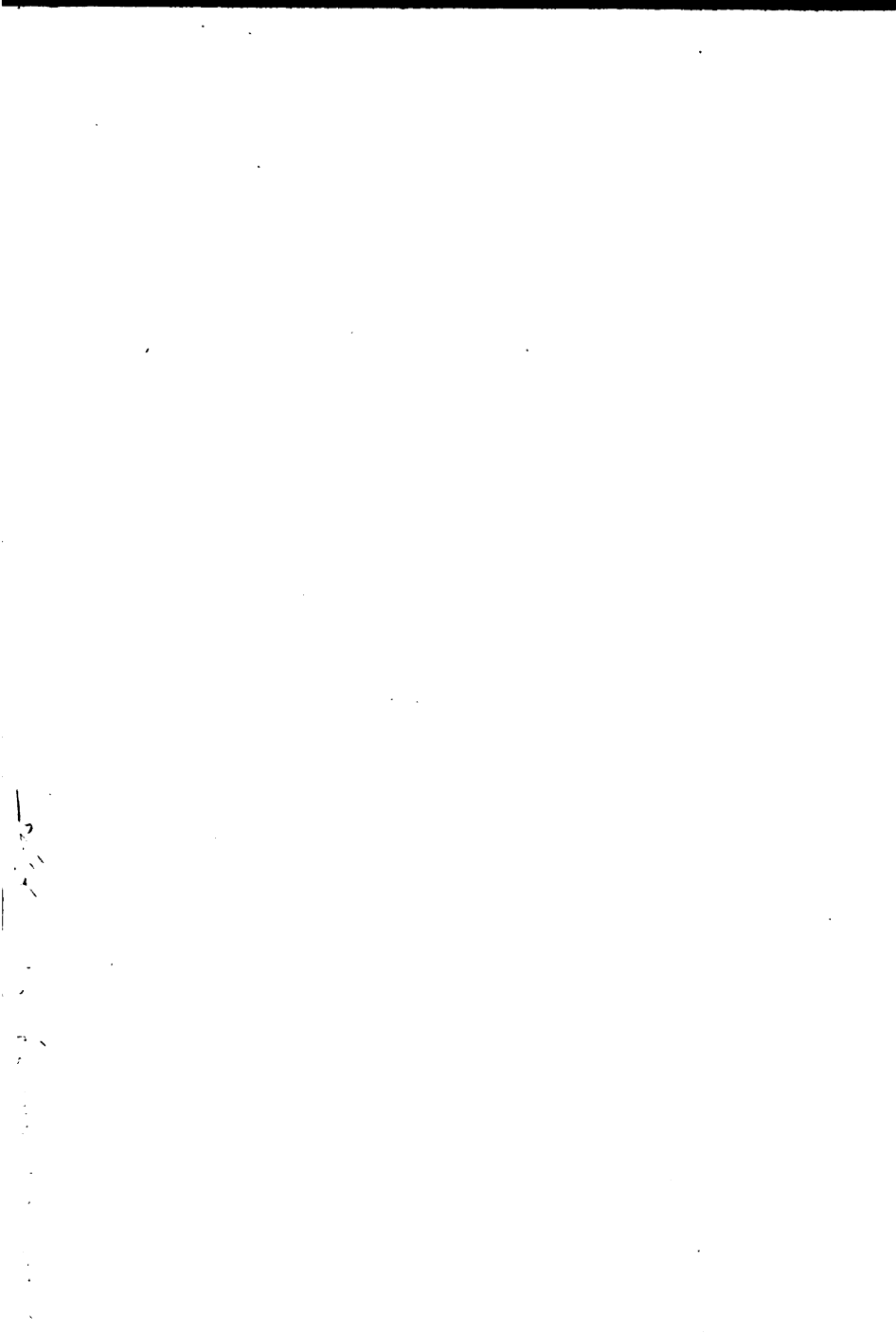
WILLIAM BRIGGS

1906

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HIS MOST EXCELLENT MAJESTY, EDWARD THE SEVENTH.

**By the Grace of God, of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, and of the British
Dominions beyond the Seas, King, Defender of the Faith, Emperor of India.**

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MR. J. P. MURRAY.

President of the Empire Club of Canada, 1907-08.

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**ASTOR, LENOX AND
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INTRODUCTORY NOTE BY THE EDITOR.

This third volume of *Empire Club Speeches* is presented to the Members of the Club with a sincere belief in its usefulness and interest. Some of the addresses are of exceptional value; all are worthy of perusal and careful study. It may be permitted the Editor, perhaps, to express a hope that some of these little books, of this year or preceding ones, may fall upon soil outside the circle of our organization, in which the seed sown by speakers who have so generously given of their knowledge or experience or thought, will find fruitful results in the promotion of Canadian interests and Imperial unity.

Apart from the addresses delivered, certain amendments made in the Constitution and a cablegram of good wishes sent to our Honourary Member, Mr. Chamberlain, the Club events of the year requiring reference here were but few. The annual meeting was held on May 14th, with the retiring President in the chair. The Rev. Professor Clark declined re-election and was accorded a most sincere vote of thanks for his services to the Club.* The following officers were elected:

President, Mr. James P. Murray; 1st Vice-President, Mr. J. F. M. Stewart, B.A.; 2nd Vice-President, Mr. J. M. Clark, K.C.; 3rd Vice-President, Mr. H. C. Osborne.

Executive Committee—Messrs. Alexander Fraser, H. S. Pell, E. Clouse, M.D., F. B. Fetherstonhaugh, J. Castell Hopkins, G. H. Muntz, D. J. Goggin, D.C.L., E. K. Richardson, M.D., J. R. Roaf, W. J. Green and Major J. Cooper Mason, D.S.O., Lieut.-Col. James Mason and the Rev. Professor Clark, as Past Presidents, were *ex-officio* members.

*Owing to an unfortunate accident the President's opening address did not reach the Editor's hands until too late to put in its proper place. It will be found at the end of the book.

At a subsequent meeting of the Executive the following Sub-Committees were appointed:

Literary and Programme Committee—Messrs. J. Castell Hopkins (Chairman), James P. Murray, D. J. Goggin, Alexander Fraser and Dr. E. Clouse.

Reception Committee—Messrs. James P. Murray, J. M. Clark, K.C., H. C. Osborne, F. B. Fetherstonhaugh, W. J. Green and Lieut.-Colonel J. Mason.

Membership Committee—Messrs. J. F. M. Stewart (Chairman), E. K. Richardson, James R. Roaf, H. C. Pell, G. H. Muntz and H. C. Phillips.

Mr. Hopkins was requested to continue acting as Editor of the annual volume and, in the Autumn, arrangements were made to combine the offices of Literary Secretary, Hon. Secretary and Treasurer in one. Mr. E. V. Portway was chosen to fill the post. The following amendments to the Constitution were passed from time to time:

October 12th, 1905: That Past Presidents of the Club shall be *ex-officio* members of the Executive Committee and that the Constitution be amended accordingly by the insertion of the words, "the Past Presidents of the Club," and after the word "with," in the fifth line of Clause six of said Constitution.

May 14th, 1906: That the offices of Literary Secretary, Treasurer and Secretary be combined into one office, such official to be known as the Secretary-Treasurer, who shall be elected by the incoming Executive Committee, and that his remuneration be fixed by said Executive Committee as the resources of the Club will permit.

May 14th, 1906: That the By-law providing for the Annual Fee be amended so as to read "The Annual Fee for ordinary Membership shall be \$2.00, which shall include a free copy of the volume of Transactions of the Club to each Member.

PRINCIPLES OF THE CLUB.

*The object of the Club is the advancement of the interests of
Canada and a United Empire.*

CONSTITUTION.

1. The organization shall be called The Empire Club of Canada.

2. The active membership of the Club shall be limited to five hundred, and membership shall be open to any man of the full age of eighteen who is a British subject.

3. Honourary members may be elected from time to time upon the recommendation of the Executive Committee at any open meeting of the Club.

4. Candidates for membership shall be proposed and seconded by two members of the Club in good standing, and shall be elected by a two-thirds majority of those present at any meeting of the Executive Committee.

5. The fee for admission shall be the sum of One Dollar, payable annually in advance. No member in arrears for fees or dues shall be considered to be in good standing, or shall be eligible for office, or have the right to attend at any meeting of the Club. Honourary members shall be exempt from the payment of fees, but will not have the privilege of voting or holding office.

6. The officers of the Club shall consist of an Honourary President; a President; 1st, 2nd, and 3rd Vice-Presidents; a Treasurer; a Secretary, and ten other members who together shall constitute, with the officers before mentioned, the Executive Committee, all of whom shall be elected by ballot. Two auditors shall also be elected at each annual meeting. The election of officers of the Club shall take place at a general meeting of the members, to be held in the month of May in each year, at a date to be decided upon by the Executive Committee, and this meeting shall be deemed to be the annual meeting. A committee to nominate the officers for the new year shall be appointed at the meeting next preceding such annual meeting, and such committee shall report to the annual meeting. Past Presidents of the Club shall be *ex-officio* members of the Executive Committee.

7. The Club shall hold general meetings weekly from October to May, both inclusive, in each twelve months, with such intermission as from time to time may be decided upon. Nominations for office shall be made at the second general meeting of the Club in October of each year, and the elec-

tions shall take place at the next succeeding meeting, and this latter meeting shall be deemed to be the annual meeting. At the annual meeting a report of the year's proceedings and work shall be submitted by the President and this report shall be accompanied by a report of the Treasurer duly audited.

8. In the event of any office becoming vacant by death, resignation or otherwise, the vacancy thus caused shall be filled by the Executive Committee, and the person so selected shall hold office until the next annual meeting.

9. The duties of the officers shall be those customary to such positions in similar organizations.

10. One week's written notice shall be given of all annual or special meetings to the members of the Club.

11. Meetings of the Executive Committee shall be called by the President, or on a requisition signed by three of its members. Special meetings of the Club may be called by the President, and shall be called on a requisition signed by twelve members, and stating the object of the meeting. This object to be also stated in the notice calling the meeting.

12. The President's and Treasurer's Annual Reports, together with the list of members and the Constitution of the Club, shall be published in pamphlet form immediately after the annual meeting in each year.

13. This Constitution may be amended at the annual meeting or at a special meeting called for that purpose, subject to a two-thirds majority vote of the members present.

14. Fifteen members in good standing shall constitute a quorum at any meeting of the Club, General, Annual or Special; six members shall form a quorum of the Executive Committee, and the presiding officer shall have a casting vote.



MR. J. S. LARKE.

**Canadian Trade Commissioner to New South Wales, Queensland and
New Zealand.**

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EMPIRE CLUB SPEECHES

AUSTRALIA: POLITICAL AND GENERAL CONDITIONS.

Address by Mr. J. S. Larke, Canadian Trade Commissionr.
at Sydney, Australia, before the Empire Club of Canada, on
Thursday, October 19th, 1905.

Mr. President and Gentlemen,—

You desire to hear something about Australia. The exact character of the Australians and the condition of Australia is difficult to convey. Information is needed, because I suppose that no country in the world has had so much nonsense written about it as Australia. I didn't see the book, but a man who was over twenty-one years of age and was supposed to be fairly honest and truthful said to me that he had seen the book in which it was stated that the coal of Australia was white in colour instead of black as in every other country in the world. I have seen things just as incorrect and just as ridiculous told about Australia in the Canadian papers of not very many moons old. It is difficult to get at the actual condition of the country, because the visitor or the man who writes books, commonly remains there but a very short time, and he fastens his mind upon one peculiar feature of Australian life or industry; and so you will have one who writes upon the huge cities over there actually and relatively to the total population; and another who may have gone a little bit into the interior will tell you of the villages, scattered and ramshackle-looking in contrast with the villages of Canada.

Well, neither of these give you the character of the urban life of Australia. Then, someone will fasten upon

their liking for sports, and he will tell you about the race-courses and cricket grounds until you would imagine that the Australian ran races and played cricket for six days in the week, and looked a little bit after the sheep on the seventh; and then you will have others who will fasten upon the industrial question and tell you of a condition of affairs where the workingman is uppermost and rules, then you will have others who will tell you of the wonderful resources of Australia. No one of these will give a conception of Australia any more than the doctor would know what is in the heart of a New York insurance magnate by feeling his pulse. (Laughter.) And you can't learn, where you would imagine you would get correct information, from the newspapers themselves. The newspapers of Australia are cleverly managed, their editorials are wonderfully well written, there is less partisanship about them than, I think, any other newspapers of the world, except it may be those of Great Britain, for they are modelled upon the British newspapers; but they have one weak spot, they are intensely parochial and local in anything relating to Australia, and the newspaper that will publish a truthful article upon the present aspect of Australia, and upon what is needed to be done in order to bring about a remedy will do it boldly; but if any British newspaper were to write even a paragraph upon that article, and especially if they were to comment on it editorially, every Australian newspaper would be up in arms against it, and the man who wrote the article would lead the attack. It is a very unfortunate thing, because it completely neutralizes every effort to bring about an amendment in Australian affairs.

As I stated, Australian aspects are very peculiar. For example, if as some of you have done, and others may do, you go to Sydney, you would go through the most beautiful harbour in the world, you would be struck to find on the one hand palace after palace and terrace above terrace, indicating they were the homes of princes, and on the other side picturesque cottages, indicating they were the comfortable homes of men in

not so affluent circumstances; and then you look at the piers, solid and permanent, lined with steamers, from which were coming the riches of the gorgeous East as well as the industries of the West; and then you would see the streets with great warehouses built of stone, meant to be lasting; see the public buildings looking as though they belonged to a nation of a thousand years instead of a hundred years; look at their parks, their botanical gardens, of which I remember a Canadian, when he got his first glimpse, saying, "I can live here forever"; see their museums, their art galleries, their schools and colleges, their technical schools, not simply one great central institution, but scattered in all the different suburbs of the cities and in the leading towns in the country; their system of railways, their tramways—for they have no street cars out there and their tramways have pneumatic brakes which I have yet to find in any street car in either Canada or the United States—you look at these things and look at their industries, for instance the wool, and then remember it is not a hundred years ago when they began to enter that industry.

I saw a sample of the first shear that was sent to England, and the reply came back: "This is a very good article to mix with mortar, but we don't think it will pay you to breed sheep to raise fibre to mix with mortar in England;" but they set themselves to work with such skill that this handful of sheep became in less than one hundred years over one hundred million, bearing on their backs twice the amount of wool that had been borne on the sheep from which they originated, and that wool the finest in the whole world; and then you look at the extent of their industries! In Canada you boast of it being the granary of the Empire and here wheat is king. From the day I landed in Victoria till the present time I have never ceased to hear of that golden West. The Australian rather chuckles when he listens to that and then he will tell you with not too much modesty that last year they shipped more wheat and flour abroad than you did from Canada, and it was only a very minor

article of export; it was only one-fifth of all the pastoral products. It is not a marvel if you find the Australian a self-contented man, if he gets, in the language of Canada, rather a big head, if he is quite sure that he has done as much as any other human being and a little more in the same time, and that anything that can be done by any human being he is going to do in the future.

But, then, look at the other side, too. You have out there a Federation, not five years old, of peoples of like origin, of common speech and of common religions—for they have most of them—without those divisions that separated old Canada and made it the fierce battleground it was forty years ago. And yet their divisions are so great that that Federation has not yet become of practical effect. The Governments, if you could call them that, have gone in and out like, I once heard stated, the figures in an Irish dance, and so there have been five Administrations in less than five years. Then you look at their industries. Last year they had a surplus of exports over imports of over \$100,000,000. Now you have heard of the drought and it is an extraordinary thing, that drought, lasting eight years, increasing until 1902, when their great industry, sheep, had been reduced in Australia to less than half the number of ten years before; in New South Wales not much more than one-third of the number; and yet there never was a year in that worst of times when they had not a surplus of exports over imports larger than the best year Canada ever had. Last year it was \$100,000,000; and yet in the face of that state of things, indicating extraordinary prosperity, the English money-lender looks askance at Australian securities.

They have not so large agricultural resources as we have in Canada, but there is room there for fifty million of people to live in the utmost comfort in New South Wales alone; in the eastern sub-division of 180,000,000 acres alone there could live fifty per cent. more people than there is to-day in all Australia. They have not only great agricultural resources, but wonderful mines,

and these mines but partially developed. They have some of the most productive land on the earth, covered with timber of the most valuable kinds, and yet it has not attracted men of wealth. So that in the last ten years, although the Government returns show some little increase, I doubt very much if Australia, with the exception of one State, Western Australia, has not lost at least 25,000 people more than came into it in those ten years; and there is this sad fact, with all these resources untouched, the last statement I had from Sydney was that there were 30,000 men out of employment in that one State, and so dire was the distress that these unemployed had invaded the sanctity of Parliament and addressed the members from the gallery and demanded some redress and some relief. Then you could go on; it is extraordinary the contrasts they have in the conditions of Australia and you can quite understand how it is you have such varied stories about that country.

Australia is a palace which has a magnificent front, but it also has a backyard, and rather a squalid backyard at that, as I have indicated. Twenty-five years ago we heard of nothing but that golden front; to-day the squalid backyard is more in evidence; but that front is there still and some day it will come in evidence again. The yard can be cleaned up and it will be. It may take time, but it will be, and the golden front will be seen again, and you will have a magnificent commonwealth to be your partner in the great Empire to which we belong.

Why is it that Australia, naturally so rich, has these extraordinary conditions; enormous wealth and yet starvation; beggary and affluence side by side, magnificent cities and lands untilled? Well, it is a long story, but let me give you two or three things. First, it is due to physical conditions of the country. Australia is a continent, not the largest, but still a continent, and it is rimmed in with mountains that nowhere are far distant from the coast, and which sometimes send their spurs right out to the sea. As a natural consequence

of that you have a small coastal belt of generally well-watered land, generally by tropical rains, and then you have the interior country, drier and drier till you come to a low area of ground below the sea level, and perfectly arid so far as anything in science or art now knows—designed to be uninhabitable for all time to come.

Then you have in these great plains grasses, wonderful grasses when you have rains, but rains are uncertain. When you have good times the pastures grow rich very quickly. A man will go in there and in a few years he may have an area of country larger than that tilled by any English nobleman and more flocks and herds than any prince of the Orient, and yet the seasons may change and in five years he may be reduced to the poverty from which he just emerged. Then you have beneath that soil, or in the land itself, marvellous mines—gold, silver, copper, tin, iron, coal. But these mines of precious metals are even more uncertain than the seasons in Australia. A man may go out and he may work and delve for eight hours, for ten hours and twelve hours—he is independent out there—and live upon the meanest food and continue to do that all his life, and then end in the poor-house; and that is the explanation why it is there is such a large number—relatively, such an immense number—of people maintained in the poor-houses of Australia. But on the other hand, he may go out to-day without a penny and he may, with the turn of his pick, unearth the treasure of a Croesus, and so you have these wonderful transitions of fortune.

No skill can tell when a man will be successful; no labour will make him successful. In the State of New South Wales there is a great belt of country where you will see holes, some shallow and some very deep, and in these shafts you will see that they have burrowed under the ground searching for gold, mile after mile of country, and the majority of these men have got nothing, and if they have made a little find they have probably compensated themselves for the privations suffered by

going on a debauch and thus swallowed up all the results of their good luck. The effect of conditions like these is to breed a race of men bold, enterprising, and speculative, believing in good luck more than they do in God, I am afraid; ready to take any chance, or as you have been commonly told, ready to bet on anything from a race-horse to a laughing jackass; ready to take chances, trust to luck, optimistic and believing something is going to turn up by and by, and enduring the privations of the present in that hope. As an illustration, during the drought the Government had a message from a little town saying: "Our water supply is nearly exhausted, send an officer up to try and relieve us from our distress." The officer went down and when he got there it is said there wasn't a single man in the whole place. They had all gone off to a neighbouring town to attend a horse race. That is the physical condition.

Then there is another condition; that is the history. Unfortunately Australia was founded as a penal colony. The people who went out there were just of two classes; there were first the convicts. Some of them were sent out for things that would not now be considered a crime, but the most of them were, after all, the scum of the United Kingdom; and then on the other side you had the officers who had them in charge—officers of regiments who were their guards. Now these officers became the employers and the convicts became the first labourers, and with the exception of some blacks, who could be induced or forced to do certain things, they comprised for a long time to come the whole of the labouring classes of Australia. The first emigrants carried out with them the class prejudices of England, but worse than that the employer was looked upon as an honest man, at least technically so, and the other was the thief. And when you have these chasms between the two great classes of the country you get what must remain for fifty years, even after free labourers had come, the stigma of a convict labourer attached to the man honestly endeavouring to earn a

livelihood. In 1850 there came those extraordinary discoveries of gold and silver which enriched Australia so enormously. They have taken out of the hills and valleys of that country three thousand million dollars worth of these precious metals.

That induced an influx not only from Great Britain but the world over, of men enterprising, self-dependent and somewhat reckless. The labourer who was available left the industries and went to the mines, and consequently the pastoralists, who are the great employers of labour, felt sorely the loss of their workmen, and as labour went up in price they longed for the old times when they had cheap labour absolutely under their control; and they never have ceased that desire yet. Though it would not be acknowledged, it is still in the mind of the men who control these great stations. They say, what we want is cheap labour and we want the Chinese and the Japs, and those inferior races, to come in so that we can make money as we used to do in the olden times.

After the golden dream was over and things began to get back to their former condition and the wages were lowering, the workingmen endeavoured to prevent it; but in 1884 the money-lender in England discovered Australia. At one of the large Exhibitions the Victorians made a showing of gold and silver, and he was told that the banks paid as high as fifty per cent. dividends in a year; until the imaginations of the Englishmen were excited and they poured their gold in a stream upon Australia, as broad as the St. Lawrence and as deep as the Saguenay. The Australian was not a man to refuse contributions, and he spent it, some of it wisely and some very foolishly. He built railways; he used some of it for the purpose of developing the country; he built palaces, some of which he proposed to let and some of which he proposed to dwell in himself, and he did so until the bubble burst. Then we had a collapse in Australia in 1893, when the foundations of the earth seemed to have sunk beneath the country. To-day you have a country that has never seen upon it

a hostile foot, yet has a greater debt than countries that have had to wade through blood for centuries. They have to meet their obligations; and let me say there is not a man in Australia, no matter how burdened he may be or how heavy interest he has had to pay in the past, that would propose to repudiate his obligations—they are all British in their instincts.

The workingman had his share of the good times; he knew it came from borrowed money, but revelled in it while it lasted; and when the good times were over and money ceased to come in such large quantities he began to cast about him for some means to prevent the reduction of wages. He went on strike, as they do in this country, and just before the final collapse we had those extraordinary strikes known as the shearer strikes in the interior and the marine strike along the coast; until the business men, the wholesale men, were sworn in as constables and marched day and night with baton and revolver in order to keep life and property secure. The strike was broken. They were wrong; it wasn't possible to continue high wages; and once it was broken up the workingmen began to set themselves to see if there was not some other means of accomplishing their purposes. They were British. They had marvellous respect for the Parliament and faith in the law. They thought Parliament could pass a law that would alleviate all human misery, and they said, we have not been able to do it by force, but we can accomplish it by legislation, and they resolved then to go into politics. You have out of that what is now known as the Labour party.

So you have in Australia three parties. There is the Free Trader, and the Protectionist, and then you have the Labour party. At the present time there are, I think, twenty-five Free Traders, twenty-five Labour members and twenty-four Protectionists in Parliament. No Government can possibly exist with the conditions as they are to-day, and what is to be the outcome I don't know. I do not want to say that capital has been

driven out of the country, but I do say that capital has been prevented from coming in; and without money there cannot be any work. I remember one man coming to me and he said he would like to get into some enterprise; but, he added: "I have looked over Australia and I won't invest my money here, and I am going to Canada. I have \$50,000 with me and I am going to invest it there." So the money has been going out and not coming in and as a result you have that misery and that beggary that I have spoken of. That is the curse of Sydney and it is characteristic of most of the Australian cities. Now the Labour party is really in power and they are not twenty-five per cent. of the population, and why is it? It arises through the indifference of the men who ought to lead—the educated men and the business men. It is a bad thing in any country when there can be a class government.

In the early days the settler was coming in and he legislated for himself, and legislated in such a way that he secured for himself the name of squatter; then came the business men and they legislated in the interests of their own pockets; and now comes the workingman, who stands between the two parties, and so turns things his own way, and so he is legislating in the interests of his class and not in the interests of the people as a whole. He claims that the Government should control all the industries. He says the State has now the control of many things. It has control of the Post-office, and no one would want to go back to the times when letters were delivered by private contract; it owns the Railways and there is no one in Australia who would go back to private railways; and he says if they can do this why not manage the steamships, and why not build and manage the shipyards and so on. Now that reasoning appeals to the man who does not think very much. The reasoning, however, is just as foolish as the man who says, you can lift fifty pounds and you can lift twice fifty pounds and you can lift four times fifty pounds and if you can lift four times fifty pounds why can't

you lift ten times or twenty times fifty pounds. But you can't and the fallacy of the reasoning of the men who hope to control all the industries by the State will never be eradicated until they have had that experience.

But you can't demonstrate the fallacy of it to them. I don't interfere in politics, but they sometimes ask me to speak and they listen to me even when I say unpleasant things. I said we had tried that in Canada, we tried the scheme in the early times, but it failed, and so we agreed to work and act for the common good. You know yourselves that when you put the farmer to work on the roads, as soon as the path-master's back was turned he sat down and played cards; and yet every stroke of work that he did was done to improve the roads in front of his own farm and to increase the value of the farm. In Australia they want the State to employ labour. A workman is employed, not because he is efficient in labour, but because he is efficient as an agitator. He naturally wants to do as little as he can; and the next man says, why should I work harder than he does, and then it all begins to slow down and gets from bad to worse. If the paymaster warns him he only laughs at him, and if he is dismissed he only comes back with a note from, perhaps, the Minister of Public Works to take him back again.

For an illustration, there is a building on one of the points in Sydney Harbour, a building on which a fair day's work can be done; yet I am told that the average work of the bricklayer is 300 bricks a day, and an engineer whose men were working on another building told me that he never had a man who did not do his thousand bricks a day; and yet the State was paying the man as much for laying the three hundred as he paid for a thousand. Another thing, the Government dug a canal by piecework and the farmers built a similar ditch and their ditch cost only sixteen pounds a mile while the Government ditch cost ninety-six pounds a mile! Now these men think that is the ideal way, but they have forgotten that you can't divide

before you gather. If a thousand men produce ten thousand dollars, they may not distribute it evenly, but they have an average of ten dollars apiece; but if they only produce five thousand dollars there will be only five dollars apiece to go round. The result is that business is leaving Australia and the men who would work, as well as the professional unemployed, are out of employment. Now the root of the whole matter is that the Australian workman wants to get bread without sweat; and you can't do it. You cannot substitute an Act of Parliament for hard work.

What is going to be the future of Australia. It has wonderful resources and they have not touched the fringe of what is possible. And why don't they do it? They say labour is so high they can't afford the price to work the land right. I know of one man who was cultivating four hundred acres and getting an average of four bushels an acre, while the Government farm, more properly worked, was yielding thirty bushels an acre. The Australian doesn't know what is the matter. One man will say it is the drought. He is mistaken. Australia's normal condition is drought just as the normal condition of the Canadian winter is frost. There is just as much growth in Australia as there is in Canada if you take a period covering ten years. The first remedy is this; the man who ought to be the leader must return to his position. The public life of Australia is just as clean as it ever was, but the men who are capable of conducting the affairs of the Government are not in Parliament, and if they cannot be persuaded into it they should be compelled. It is just as wrong to expect the advantages of citizenship without paying for it as it is to get property without giving proper compensation for it. Next, they must teach the workingman. We must meet him as man to man and recognize that in these men are men that are our brothers; and that if you reason with them and take the education out of the demagogue's hands, you will have an intelligent class of men who will do the best they can for them-

selves and for the public. Then there must be true patriotism and equality. If these things were done you would soon have Australia as prosperous as Canada.

I have sometimes said I would make Australia as prosperous as Canada in five years if you will insure my life from being shot while I am doing it; for the first thing I would do is to starve a good many men, and I would actually see them die, if need be, in order to get things into the right way; so that Australia would be a credit to the great Empire to which we belong. My ideal of the British Empire is a great united commonwealth, so strong that no power on earth can make us afraid, and so just that no nation on earth shall be so weak as to be afraid of us.

SOME ASPECTS OF IMPERIALISM.

Address by Mr. Richard Jebb, of London, England, before the Empire Club of Canada, on Friday, October 27th, 1905.

Mr. Chairman and Gentlemen,—

I am deeply sensible of the honour you have done me by giving me this opportunity to address your Club. I need scarcely say that with the objects of the Empire Club, as indicated by its title, I am myself in hearty sympathy. My only difficulty is to know exactly how I can interest so many gentlemen who already are familiar with the principal aspects of this question of Imperial consolidation. Perhaps I can't do better than allude to one feature of the movement which is associated in England with the name of Mr. Chamberlain. The particular feature of the movement in England is that Mr. Chamberlain's campaign has had the effect of compelling all those who think about the Empire to arrange their ideas and define their conceptions of Empire, and to follow them more closely than they had found it necessary to do before. Mr. Chamberlain proposed a specific measure, a measure which he asked the English people to adopt, and he proposed it principally because it was a measure of Imperial importance.

Now you can't form a judgment upon the effect which any particular line of policy will have upon the future of the Empire unless you have some fairly clear idea as to what is a desirable form of Imperial unity or at any rate what is a practical form of Imperial unity. Therefore the effect of Mr. Chamberlain's campaign has been first of all to make the people arrange their ideas and define their conceptions of the Empire. That process in England has brought to the surface the anti-Imperialist. We have in England, I think, quite a strong body of opinion which sincerely believes that a united Empire is synonymous with the terms Militarism and Jingoism. The anti-Imperialists think that is

what a united Empire means in its external aspect and then, taking the internal aspect, they think Imperial unity means a dead level of all civilization, especially all white civilizations, in the Empire. They think we are going to reduce every citizen in the country to a dead level of uniformity. They argue that what we want to go at is dissolvication and not unification.

We, on the other hand, who are Imperialists can, I think, take exception to that representation of our Imperial idea. Perhaps we have not expressed our idea as clearly as we might have done with advantage. Perhaps after all it is wrong for us to put forward the notion that a united Empire is in itself a great moral ideal. Perhaps it is not. But I think the real conception is that a united Empire is a means to an end. It is a means to the realization of very lofty political conceptions. I think if we come to define our ideas we mean not the the formation of a great big world-wide State, but rather the close and intimate affiliation of several more or less different Democracies, each of those Democracies working out its own salvation upon its own lines. From that point of view I think we can put forward an idea of Empire which would do much to reconcile those anti-Imperialists who still preserve an open mind. We believe that a united Empire is not contrary to the idea of national independence. I am not one of those who feel the smallest alarm, as I sometimes hear it said, that beneath the surface you Canadians are dreaming of Independence. I like to hear that because it is a sign of growth and ambition. And for my part I think as the country does grow and things develop here it will be realized that you can have a much fuller independence within the Empire than outside of it. After all there is no such thing as absolute independence. No country, not even the great Republic to the South, can get rid of external relations. There is no country that has absolute independence. All the countries have a connection with each other and no one can develop without reference entirely to the others.

Now we Imperialists, I think, can make out a very

strong case for a united Empire, as a development of the several Democracies within it. We have the advantage of a common language which enables the countries to come into closer touch with each other than they can with foreign countries. That common language can be turned to very useful account, as in the case of the press, and the press depends upon the cable. By improving the means of communication within the Empire the different parts of the Empire will take a growing interest in each other in this practical way. They all have a large number of domestic interests in common; they have their domestic problems; they have questions like industrial difficulties, and arbitration, temperance measures, and education. Questions of that kind are common to all these Democracies and if, in England for example, we know what countries do on this side it is a help to us in considering our own problems. Again, take a question like the Land question in England, and they have a somewhat similar question in New Zealand which they are trying to solve in a very novel manner; it is interesting to us in England to see how they are doing it and what results are being accomplished. And take the Old Age Pensions, a question which they are interested in in England and also in New Zealand and Australia, and by bringing these countries into closer touch the prospect of developing a high ideal is made better for each of the several countries than if each were cut off from the others and trying to work in isolation, without knowing what other countries are doing. That is just one aspect of what we mean by an affiliation of Democracies. Take this question of commerce. It is part of our Imperial idea that a united Empire means, or might mean, a greater degree of material prosperity for the several parts of that Empire than could be obtained if they were all separate and independent of each other. The strength of the Empire is a strength of the parts and if we can devise a system of mutual preferences in trade it will tend to the protection of each of the different parts of the Empire.

It is said that Mr. Chamberlain is proposing to sacrifice England to the other parts of the Empire, that he is seeking to make the conditions harder in England in order that conditions may be improved, say in Canada or Australia, and it is contended that that is a wrong way to cement the Empire. Well, I sympathize with anybody who fears that Mr. Chamberlain's tariff is meant to impoverish the Old Land, but I think I am speaking for Mr. Chamberlain and his followers when I say that we do not admit such a charge at all. Even if you regard England apart from the Empire we think it is an advantage to England. But there are several aspects of Mr. Chamberlain's proposition regarded from the purely English standpoint. The proposed tariff will bring in a certain amount of revenue and that is a very serious question in England. We may do all we can there, but we cannot prevent a certain growth in our expenditure and I think Mr. Chamberlain's measure will lighten the taxation upon the working classes as well as upon other classes in England. We think as to revenue it will be to England's advantage and it will not be a loss to England. But the great point is this, that we who support Mr. Chamberlain in England, are not sacrificing any interests for the sake of the Empire, but are advocating that it is as much to the advantage of England as to any other part of the Empire and, therefore, from the commercial aspect we have the idea that the affiliation of Democracies is not as unfavourable as the anti-Imperialists believe.

There is a third aspect of that idea of affiliation of Democracies. All these problems which they are engaged in solving are problems which require a large expenditure. In England the domestic expenditure is increasing by the fact that we are an old civilization. We have in England an old civilization in a limited territory and out of those conditions certain serious problems arise and they can't be solved without a great expenditure of public money. In Canada also you have special departments of expenditure which you feel to be very heavy. But here in Canada you feel you require

money for the development of your resources. That is more inspiring than the way we have to do, trying to repair the errors of the past or making up wastes; and then we have education and things of that kind which require a great expenditure of money. The great obstacle that the country is realizing is that so large a portion of the national revenue is being spent for providing for defence as a guarantee of national independence. Well, it is part of our united Empire ideal that a united Empire at some time will mean that each part will be spending less upon the defence of the Empire than if each one had been obliged to depend upon itself alone. Now the anti-Imperialists in England always take exception to that. I am speaking now of my experience in political campaigning. The anti-Imperialist at once throws Canada in your teeth and asks you what signs you see in Canada of any disposition to share the burden of defence. I know in telling you this I am on delicate ground. However, I am merely relating to you how the thing is looked at in England and that is the objection to our Imperial ideal that is constantly cropping up. They ask you what she is doing for Imperial defence.

MR. CHAMPION.—What is she doing?

There is one argument when I am upholding the Imperial idea that I make use of, and that is that this is a time of transition such as you must have in a country like Canada. You are passing from the Colonial status to the National status and that transition is not going to take place in the twinkling of an eye. I am one of those who do not think that the question of defence could ever be solved satisfactorily by a centralized system under which Canada or Australia would send large cheques to the Admiralty in London. I do not concern myself with the question of representation because I have no longer any belief in the system of cash contributions in connection with which that system is generally mentioned. It seems to me that if you go on the theory that the strength of the parts is the strength of the whole it is as necessary to apply that principle

to the question of defence as to any other part of the question. Certainly in the long run it seems to me that the Empire would be strengthened more if the several particular parts of it maintained their own defence forces than if they all joined together to subsidize a common Admiralty or a common War Office in London. But when I take that point of view in my political campaigning at home, I say that the reason why Canada has made no beginning is by reason of the obstruction of the Admiralty at home which clings to the old-fashioned things and ways, and I say with confidence that when the Admiralty will revise its system at home, the different parts of the Empire will act with us and we will see rapid progress. Of course we have against that idea all the official strategists. They talk of one Navy. I am not a Navy expert, but I think it will interest you that so recognized an authority as Spencer Wilkinson is thoroughly in accord with the Imperial idea of the Navy consisting of several squadrons which will be distinguished as Canadian, British or Australian, but nevertheless one Navy to co-operate together if a time of trial should come.

In Canada here you want a consideration put forward in connection with the question of defence, which I never represent when I go to England. It is that owing to the necessity of spending such a large amount of money upon Canadian resources Canada cannot be expected to do very much as yet in the way of Naval defence. If you say that in England you will at once meet with the objection that England, as I have said, has her social problems and things of that kind which are just as urgent for her as the development of your resources are for you. We would not spend a cent for defence except out of sheer necessity. We would much rather conserve our revenue for domestic purposes. So we have to go without our old-age pensions; we have to restrict our education schemes; because we feel the absolute necessity of keeping our defences as good as we can. For that reason I would not present in England that argument to which I have alluded.

Now if you accept the conception of the Empire as a great affiliation of distinct Democracies you want to know naturally along what lines, logically, it is going to develop. I am one of those who think that the principle of the Colonial Conference is the principle to which we must look for many years to come for the development of the Imperial political machinery. The great fundamental foundation and distinctive feature of the Colonial Conference is that in that conference the heads of Governments meet on equal terms. I think if we are to get the widest or greatest good out of this idea of Imperial Union that it is important to keep up that principle of the heads of Governments acting together as equals and not in any sense as the subordinates of one or another Government. Of course, you cannot regard Canada as the equal of England at the present time in a strict sense, owing to the different conditions as to wealth and population and so on, but I notice a distinct tendency among Canadians to insist upon that equality of status in the Empire and I have complete sympathy with that because I realize that at some day, and at no very distant day, Canada is going to be the predominating partner in wealth and population and all the rest of it. I think that when that day comes Englishmen will be glad enough that they have kept up that equality of status between the different parts of the Empire. Now I mention that point because there is at the present time in England—or rather there has been—a decided attempt on the part of certain prominent statesmen in England to repudiate that view.

We have had the idea put before us that it is the right, in fact that it is the duty, of the representative of the head of the British Government in the Colonial Conference to lay down definitely what the Conference shall or shall not discuss. In fact we have had the idea put before us that it is our right and perhaps duty to say whether the Conference shall or shall not assemble. Now that is an idea, which, to my mind, is entirely wrong in principle. If you accept the ultimate idea of an equality of status between the several nations, I

think you will sympathize with Mr. Chamberlain's followers in England when they propose that this Conference must come together in periods of four years whether any particular Government finds the Conference will suit its party ticket or it does not. We can't have the assembling of the Colonial Conference dependent upon the political exigencies of any one Government or any one country and, especially, we cannot have the matters to be dealt with before the Conference restricted by the authority of any one Government out of the whole group. We must keep to the great principle that when the heads of Governments assemble at the Conference any one of them will be at liberty to bring up any question he pleases. If I may put forward one suggestion, it would be a great help, I think, to the Imperialists in England if Canada would take steps to assert that principle of its right to initiate discussions at the Conference. If, for example, the Dominion Parliament would pass a Resolution instructing the representatives of Canada to bring up their right to discuss any particular question at the Conference, I think that Resolution would do a great deal of good, because it would confirm the right of Canada to bring up any subject regardless of whether it suited the ideas of party politicians or not.

Now I feel that I have kept you long enough. I have preferred to go rather into detail as to what our Imperial idea means for the reason I have stated, but although we may go into detail and show that it is in the best interests of the Empire, and a means of economizing in Imperial defence, yet I think I have you with me when I say that over and above all that we stand for a united Empire, because we value something very big and something very real to us, which we call the British traditions. I think we feel at the back of our heads that we stand for a very high ideal of citizenship which is associated all round the Empire with the Mother-country. It is very impressive for an Englishman to find what immense moral strength there is all round the Empire through what is regarded as the high

political ideals of the Mother-country. Well, if only that high ideal can be maintained in reality and carried out in practice; if it can only be made a living thing and not allowed to become a mere phrase with no relation to real life; if we can only retain it as a reality; I think we can succeed in working out the largest political conception which has ever exercised the ability of any people in any part of the world.

ADDRESS BY SIR JOHN LENG, M.P.

Mr. President and Gentlemen,—

In the year 1876, now close upon thirty years ago, I paid my first, and what at the time I supposed to be my last, visit to Canada. I am not now so young nor so strong as I then was, but my remembrance of the generosity and the hospitality with which I was then received, and my pleasant recollections of travelling through the several Provinces as far as I could then go, induced me, now that I am much older than I then was, to pay this second visit. And, during the short time I have been here I can only say that the expectations of your hospitality have been fully fulfilled. Here am I, only a few hours in Toronto, when I am honoured by an invitation to meet this influential Club.

Now I had the honour of sitting in the Imperial Parliament with the distinguished relative of the gentleman who has just now addressed you, and whom, I should infer—I am not positively informed on the fact—is himself an aspirant to sit in the House of Commons. If he sits there he will, like his esteemed uncle,* sit on the side opposite to that where I am, and if we were in the Imperial Parliament and if we both had the opportunity of catching the Speaker's eye, I might take the opportunity to traverse some of the views which, I will say, my honourable friend has expressed. At the same time I am not too anxious to debate it here.

*Editor's note.—Professor Sir Richard C. Jebb.

With much that Mr. Jebb has said I strongly agree. In principle I think we are really at one, but the methods which he would recommend differ from those which occur to me. I will only briefly indicate my views. My view with regard to Mr. Chamberlain's policy is this, that he has made the fundamental mistake of basing his Imperial views mainly, if not entirely, on financial considerations. Mr. Jebb has taken a much wider view than I have ever heard Mr. Chamberlain express, and I would follow the younger rather than the older Chamberlain.

What I saw here thirty years ago and what I have seen from that hour to this, is that the Colonies, and the Dominion of Canada in particular, do not require any bribe or money inducement to re-inforce their loyalty. (Hear, hear.) The loyalty of all the Colonies, the loyalty of Canada, is deeper-seated than in any selfish financial consideration. It is in the hearts and the intellects of the people themselves. They know the race from which they have sprung; their antecedents are in the Old Country, their ancestors are there; and then there is the relationship with the builders of England and Scotland and Ireland. I am an Imperialist to that extent. Well, I think if Mr. Chamberlain had taken up this question in that broader way in which his advocate has spoken to-day, he would not have prejudiced it in the minds—because he has prejudiced it—of other Imperialists. I will not allow any monopoly in that title to Mr. Jebb and his friends, some of us long before Mr. Jebb was born, and even in the time of his uncle, having been Imperialists.

With regard to this question there are only one or two facts which I will take the liberty of mentioning. I would like to remind you of a fact which came to my notice within the last three or four days, that in the Colony of Victoria, which is now and has been strongly protectionist for a number of years, in a period when you have had 600,000 emigrants from the Old Country come into Canada, their population has decreased by 6,000. That is not an encouragement for a system of

protection. Then I am old enough—I lived in the days of Cobden and Bright, I stood at their feet—I remember the times in which they spoke and I remember the privations of our poor. There were years in which it was with difficulty that they could obtain food and then very poor food; even the agriculturists, to whom the appeal is now being made for protection. Such were the conditions all over the country at that time, and if you compare the condition of the workmen to-day in England and Ireland and Scotland with that time, you will see they are living in a paradise now with what it was then. I remember, too, when Sir Robert Peel first brought in his budget—and Gladstone followed—and put the pen through twelve hundred articles that were taxed. Knowing that the trade and commerce of all the country improved by leaps and bounds, I am not one of those who are led away with the vision of England's prosperity with which Mr. Chamberlain has indulged his followers. However, I will not go further into this debatable land.

But this I will say, that I hope the day will come when what we now call the Imperial Parliament will really become what its name signifies. Instead of being an Imperial Parliament we are now simply a big overgrown working Board. The greater part of our time is taken up in the House of Commons by going into local matters. First of all we have an hour of questions dealing with the smallest details of local affairs. Then the Minister of Finance is put through his facings with regard to matters which I hope that your Houses have good sense enough not to listen to. And in the same way our time is frittered away day after day and month after month over the pettiest details of administration. Instead of that I would like that we should have time really to discuss Imperial questions. I would like that we had time to hear more such speeches as Mr. Jebb has just made, because we have plenty of men who could give them thoroughly satisfactory answers. But we have not time to do it. And when we do—when we have counted on having a night of it in the House

of Commons Mr. Chamberlain and the whole lot of Chamberlains ran away and would not face us. (Laughter.) We wanted to have it out with them, but they wouldn't come to the scratch.

Gentlemen, I hope you will excuse me for making these very casual remarks. But I would like to say that during the short time that I have been in Canada, so far, I have been delighted to see, not so much change, but progress and development. And that you might not suppose that I am outside altogether of Canadian interests, Colonial interests, I may mention that one of my sons-in-law, who is an excellent fellow, better known in Montreal than here, has very large shipping interests in this country. I have members of my family in Australian Colonies, and my wife has numerous connections in New Zealand, and in fact all our interests are your interests and the interests of the other Colonies. Our interests are the same and I am perfectly at one with Mr. Jebb on the line of the Colonial Conference that is fast working out, and I hope that as time goes on we shall have some definite form of Canadian and Colonial representation in the Mother-country.

Our interests are really all one, and do not suppose that we who do not go in precisely with Mr. Chamberlain's ideas, do not desire our Empire to advance in greatness. We wish to promote the happiness and well-being of all. We are delighted to hear of your good crops. We are delighted to hear of the progress of the shipper and manufacturer. All our interests are really at one and you may rely on our good faith and endeavour to promote the unity of the Empire. We may differ as to the precise manner in which it is to be done, but I think I may say of the great majority of the members of Parliament in our country that we are at one with you in our anxiety to promote everything that is for your benefit and that we desire your co-operation to strengthen the Old Country. We wish the British name to be honoured here. We wish the British flag, wherever it is hoisted, to be hoisted over a happy, intelligent and a prosperous people.

NEW DEVELOPMENTS IN EDUCATION.

Address by Mr. J. L. Hughes, Public School Inspector of Toronto, before the Empire Club of Canada, on Thursday, November 2nd, 1905.

Mr. President and Friends,—

When asked rather suddenly to address you to-day I responded that if I could be of any service to the Club of which I have the honour to be a member, I should be glad. I chose for a title a subject which we might speak on for a great many hours, if we had the time at our disposal. All departments of life have been developing during the last twenty years, the last ten years, even the last five years; the Medical, Legal and even the Ministerial departments have been making progress. I remember when, about fifteen years ago, in this City it was proposed to introduce the trolley service and one man, who was afterwards Mayor of the City, objected to it because he said if they erected the trolley wires they would shut out the sun at noonday. That man holds a very prominent position now in connection with the Street Railway. The world moves on. A little over 100 years ago there were 223 crimes for which the criminal might be hanged. We have been making progress in all departments.

It would, therefore, be strange if the Educational department of the world were not making progress. I think while it is quite proper at this gathering to discuss matters relating to the Empire we should occasionally discuss educational questions. In our own City we have had for thirty years one institution which I think is of vital interest and of great consequence in the development of the Empire, in the establishment of the true relation between the young men of the Empire and the Empire as a whole. I refer to our cadet work in the schools. If you saw us on Empire Day you would see we had forty-nine companies of well-drilled boys in



MR. JAMES L. HUGHES.
Public School Inspector, Toronto.

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line. Not that we wish to train them to dislike their neighbours, but to develop the best elements of young manhood, to train them so that they are able to carry themselves properly. I do not believe it is possible to develop the body without at the same time developing the mind and the moral nature. Then we have also another element. During the week before Empire Day every child in our City from the kindergarten to the highest class makes the Union Jack from the crosses that compose that Union Jack—St. George's Cross, St. Andrew's Cross and the St. Patrick's Cross; and they are shown how to combine these into our Union Jack so that they may understand the meaning of it.

My subject is "New Developments in Education." We have a great many of these during the last twenty years, and they all centre around one thought, one element of development and that is a higher, a truer, a broader recognition of the child himself and of his individual power, of his selfhood, his soul-hood or whatever you choose to call it. That is really the ground-work on which all the true development that is being brought about in the school rests. We may classify the developments into three departments for a little more definite exposition. First, the development that has come in the training of children; second, the development that has come in our programmes of study; and, third, the development in our methods of teaching. All these departments of evolution rest on the same fundamental element of self-activity of the child; the development of that which we call the individuality or self-hood of the child.

What are the changes that have come in the last few years? Since Froebel introduced the kindergarten system into the world—because he was the man who gave us the central thought that now dominates all education from the kindergarten to the university—in training we have made several steps in advance. The old training was chiefly along the lines of "don'ting"; the most important word in our training system was "don't" or "quit" or "stop." Now the word for train-

ing is "do." All children as soon as they manifest themselves to us, as soon as they are able to move around reveal three distinct fundamental tendencies. First, they love to do things; that is the deepest love of their nature. Deeper than even the love of mother is that love and more essential for the development of child life. We all reverence our mothers. As soon as the child can come in contact with two things it changes the relationship or the condition of these two things. We used to allow the child to get into the parlour and transform conditions there. We called the child bad names because we were foolish enough to let him have an environment that was not appropriate to his stage of development.

The child not only loves to do things, but the things he plans himself. That was clearly intended to be so. Those are the things that develop the child. God made him original and creative. We have made him imitative because we have taken away that tendency to do the things he plans himself. And the child had still a higher tendency and that was to do things in harmony and co-operation with other people. That little boy loves to work with his chums in the play-house and with his father in the garden. The little girl loves to work with her mother. All children love to do things they plan themselves and to do things in co-operation with other people. Those are the central elements of higher Christian character and that help to raise the child in his progress from stage to stage in his evolution. These are the elements that tend to true development. Children ought to grow more rapidly under true conditions, but the fact that most children lose these elements to a very large degree and all children to a certain degree proves that the old method of training was not a true method of training and so we have changed from "don't" to "do."

Our purpose from the first time a child comes to the kindergarten is to give him things to do which will be interesting to him to do and which will give him an opportunity to plan for himself in the doing. Not that

we shall do the planning, but that he shall himself to a very considerable degree have a right to do the planning and so far as possible to have the different pupils of the class co-operate in producing things and in transforming conditions. We are of little use to the world unless we are transforming the conditions of our environment. Every man and woman should be a transformer. Every child is. So we are trying to give the child power to transform by giving him the opportunity. Then we have changed from the old plan in another way. The old idea of training was from without in. Froebel's revelation was that we should train from within out. In our life the self-hood, the soul-hood should dominate the outer environment and as I do transform my outer environment as boy or man I am growing. Not by what I take in is my life enlarged, but by what I transform in my own inner life in harmony with that life, and having developed and added it to my life I transform my environment. That is what enables me to be a greater man to-day than yesterday and to-morrow than to-day.

Then we have new ideals in modern times of what obedience means. It has been interpreted to mean simply subordination—subordination of the child to the adult. Any soul that is consciously subordinate to another is always dwarfed, whether child to the adult or wife to the husband or the devotee to the principles of any denomination, in the east or west, the north or south. The human soul should not be consciously subordinate to another human soul. I should stand in direct relationship to the divine and as I do and get a revelation of the divine and, if I do as I pray, then my duty is to be true to the law of that divine. So we are not interpreting in modern times the idea of obedience to mean subordination. We want obedience, even the kind of the good woman that we have heard about. Perhaps you have read how the Minister came to see her and she was not quite ready to receive him and she left Tommy, her little eight-year-old boy, to receive the Minister. He said: "I suppose Thomas you obey

your mother," and he said, "Yes, I guess I do, and so does Pa." (Laughter.) If we cannot have a higher or better kind than that we ought to have that.

But the true ideal of obedience is not subordination of one soul to another, it is not even the co-operation of that child with me; it is not the willingness of that child to do the thing I plan for him. In that case he is not getting the development, he is not getting true soul development which will make him a great strong Canadian by and by. He is getting the mechanical development. So we are trying now to raise the child above that and raise the ideal of obedience above that. Not obedience to me simply, but a recognition of law, a reverence for law which I shall develop into a consciousness of the law of his being and a consciousness of the relation of the law of God to his own life. Those are the laws we wish the child to be obedient to and in that regard I wish to say I have never known a boy who was not as reverently obedient to me as he ought to be if I have a proper reverence for him. Each boy has returned to me frankly and squarely as much reverence as I gave him; and the modern educational idea does not demand from the boy any more reverence for the adult than the adult gives to the boy. It is that recognition of the child and the soul-hood of the child and the majesty of that soul-hood which has revolutionized all methods not only of training but teaching.

Then we have also the attitude towards the law itself. Law has been altogether restrictive in its application to the child. We are trying to make it directive, to make it guide the child instead of stopping the child from doing things. The little boy in Boston whose Father came to him and asked him in the evening, "Tom, what have you been doing to-day?" and to whom Tom replied, "I have not been doing anything, I have been don'ting all day for mother," is a type of the old style of training. These three great central elements instead of giving inspiration and guidance under the old law were restrictive and not directive. We have a new ideal of what self-control means. The old ideal was

that I should keep away from bad things. That was training of the boy merely negatively. Surely that is a small ideal, a poor ideal, for the training of a being created in the image of God. The new ideal of self-control is not the control I get over myself to keep me back from doing the thing I ought not to do, but positive self-control which should train me so that I have control over my powers to do things I ought to do.

I think the churches used to err a little in preaching so much about my responsibility for the evil I did. Of course, I am responsible for it, but there is no great strong practical development in that ideal. Development comes to me from the idea that I am responsible for the good I ought to do. We desire a positive self-control, the control of my intellectual and spiritual powers that guides me towards achievement of things I know to be true. Then the whole change, the fundamental change in the training of children has been from what we used to call coercion and what we still call coercion to self-activity. All coercive processes, whatever they may be, should be tested by their influence on the three great central tendencies in human power and character. Does coercion make a boy do more, or do the things he plans himself more, or co-operate with his fellows more? Coercion is restrictive, not inspirational, and so the modern educator has less faith in coercion of all types and especially in the coarsest type of coercion which we call corporal punishment.

We have made rapid development in training in Toronto and yet we are behind. You may have noticed a few days ago a statement that the new Minister of Education in Austria has issued an order that any teacher who inflicts corporal punishment shall be instantly dismissed. In France, Italy, Finland, Switzerland and in Brazil and South America no corporal punishment is allowed at all. We are not ahead of the world. In New Jersey, the Cities of Chicago, New York, Toledo, Cleveland, Syracuse, Albany, Philadelphia, Washington and Savannah, there is no corporal punishment; and in those great cities, New York and Chicago,

where they have probably the most difficult children to manage in all America, at any rate, they have no corporal punishment. I had the pleasure of being present at a School Board meeting in New York City last January when it was proposed that corporal punishment should be allowed under certain conditions in New York and I was delighted that the great majority voted against such a retrograde step. In London, England, the Principals only are allowed to punish and they have to enter a record in a book of the nature and cause of the punishment. (A voice—Are children of the United States any better than ours?)

MR. HUGHES.—If any of you have been in the schools of Chicago and New York you will find those children are more respectful, that they are more obedient, if you like, than our children in our schools. I would like any one who has not done that to visit at any time these schools. The best, and most respectful, and most energetic children in our schools in Toronto, are those whose teachers never use corporal punishment. Any of you may go with me at any time and I will call the teacher out of the room without the children knowing where he has gone, and after he has been out half an hour I will let you go on tiptoe to the room and see whether those children are not as good as they are when he or she is in the room. We do not need to go abroad to find the effect of discipline. I may be asked the question, is it not possible under certain circumstances for corporal punishment to do some good? I answer that question most frankly, yes, but I state also I am prepared to prove it is the poorest of all agencies to produce that effect. It produces less effect than any of the good agencies we adopt. I have not time to discuss the question any further to-day except just to say this, that the leaders in Europe and North and South America agree that if a man has to resort to corporal punishment it is an evidence that he or she has not studied fully his own powers or the powers of the child. Surely there are other elements in that being created in the image of God higher than mere fear and which may be touched

to stimulate that soul-hood to grow towards the divine.

We will leave the question of training and inquire what changes have come in the matter of programme? A great many, and for the same reasons that were given for the other—in order that children may have their soul-hood developed and in order that they may get the education a little more practically. That is the new ideal. We need to have an education which makes the children executive and gives them a little more practical education. Then we have made changes in the programme in order that we may kindle all the boys and girls of our schools. Many children can be kindled by literature; there are far more who can not be. Some children may be kindled by art, some by music, some by science—all these are valuable—and some even by mathematics. “Kindle” is the greatest educational word in the language for the teacher. If we kindle the boy in the centre of his power that is the best thing we can ever do for him.

More may be kindled by manual training than can be kindled by any other study. A good many can be kindled by nature study who could not be kindled by any other study. Some children do not like books. Some men do not like books as others like them. We always in the old days made a boy a bookish boy and if he didn't take to books and learn them we called him stupid. Some of the most brilliant fellows of our age were stupid at books. We wondered at that. We did not give the boy an opportunity to be kindled at the centre of his power. The mechanical boy has a right to be kindled as well as the boy who is literary in his tastes. We have introduced all these new subjects in order that the children of our classes may be kindled at the centre of their power. They have a practical application—boys in Manual Training and girls in Domestic Science. In the Universities now, these matters have secured recognition.

In connection with the Toronto University your daughters may take a course in the high schools which will enable them to take a degree mainly based on Musical work. In connection with the University we are

also to have a Domestic Science department. We have the element of engineering, two departments, so that our Manual Training School leads up to the Technical School and then on to the Engineering department of the University. We are going to have, I hope, a complete Art department in the University. One University in America has gone so far as to start a course to give a degree for young ladies in Kindergarten Philosophy; of course, broadening in other subjects as well. Whatever we mean by introducing these new departments, no educator thinks the old culture should be disregarded. We wish more of that if possible and we wish more of that which is special. But we are building up these other departments so that the self-hood of the boy or girl may have the opportunity of being kindled by those departments which touch their lives as literature in the old days could never do.

What are we doing in regard to changes in methods of teaching? They are based on the same ground-work or the same philosophy. When we were boys the teacher stood at the desk and talked to us and we listened. We passed to another stage when the teacher showed us diagrams and maps and we said that was a great development. We passed to another stage when we made those diagrams and that was a great advance because we saw the thing really produced. We took another step in advance when the teacher stood in all the subjects where it was possible to do so and performed an experiment and we looked at him and learned the lesson as well as we could. There is no school satisfied to-day with that as the highest step of objective work. Every boy and every girl performs their own experiments. Another change is in giving a great deal more choice. In the old days every boy had the same kind of home work. We don't ask for that now. The boy should do chiefly the work he loves to do in his home work; he should have the right to choose, himself, very largely the work he has to do at home. They will do a great deal more of it and do it more joyously in that way. In the old days the teacher used to ask every boy to prepare the same lesson in reading.

It is far better to say to the boy, take the lesson you love best or choose the stanza that means most to you and read that to-morrow and tell us why you love that best. We wish to give him a consciousness of his own individuality so that he may know he means something in the world. So in art work, we do not ask all the boys to try to draw trees, flowers or horses. We train them to do all this, but we say to the boy, choose in this city the most beautiful spire or the most beautiful tower and draw that and tell us next week why you chose that; or limit it to the best Greek or best Roman or best Norman architecture; so that he may go through the city looking for that thing; the best entry to a doorway, the best staircase, the best building of any kind. So that each one chooses. Or if the children are to draw trees, we say, choose the tree you love best of all trees and draw that tree. We do this to give them power of choice.

That is true in regard to composition. We used to ask all children to write on the same subject. We dared to choose the subject for the little child to write about. Each child should write on the theme he loves best. So while we give them all the same training in the school we do not ask them all to write on the same theme. Some of them will write on Spring, but they all had to write on Spring in the old days; and once or twice a year they all had to write on War or Intemperance. The child should choose the theme that touches his own life most. So all through the work we try to give them a greater degree of choice. Not that they shall choose whether they will take Grammar or Arithmetic or any of the studies in the lower grades, but we give them the choice within the law, of liberty under law. One of the fundamental ideals of our new education is that it is for the purpose of developing in each child a consciousness of his own tastes, his own tendencies and his own powers, and also that his father and mother and teacher may become conscious of that power, so that they may reveal to him what department of life-work he ought to take up when he leaves the school.

SOME CONDITIONS IN AUSTRALIA.

Address by Mr. Octavius C. Beale, President of the Federal Council of the Chambers of Manufacturers of Australia, before the Empire Club of Canada, on Thursday, November 9th, 1905.

Mr. President and Gentlemen,—

It is particularly fortunate for me that I have the pleasure of attending upon His Majesty's birthday to address a few words to a company of my fellow-citizens of the Empire in a totally different country to my own. In Australia we make this a public holiday and an Assembly of this kind would certainly be of very diminutive numbers on this day. You may say, it is a matter common report amongst the other things that are telegraphed throughout the planet to our disadvantage, and it is constantly said that we have too many holidays and not enough of work. But we are like our German cousins, when you ask them to have a little more beer, they can always do with it. We can always do with another holiday. It is also said that we should add to the list of holidays the birthday of Her revered Majesty, Queen Victoria, and call it Empire Day. I understand that here you give it special prominence and that therefore this day is not observed as a general public holiday. It is true so far as Australia is concerned that Empire Day has not yet become thoroughly established, notwithstanding the intensely Imperial feeling which exists throughout the Island of Australia.

You are invaded with tourists of all sorts. And recently, I think last year, you had a gentleman who when visiting Toronto, in four days was able to report to the rest of us in the British Empire, and to those outside who chose to read his publication, that he had found all your most secret aspirations and your most secret guiding principles and announced them to the whole world. He was one day in Winnipeg and gathered

from the hackman that drove him around a mass of statistical information which a horse's head wouldn't hold—and he has got a longer head than any one here, I think. That gentleman puts upon the back of his books the letters very much bolder than brass, in gilt, "Canada as It Is."* I had always understood that it was impossible for any of us in this world ever to know anything as it is. We might pronounce upon a thing as we saw it or thought we saw it, or give our opinion, but to state as facts that certain principles are the actuating principles of the British race is, I think, a piece of the most extraordinary audacity. That is my own opinion and I am perfectly free here to announce it because I have asked a great number of gentlemen and I have not found one who has read that book. Yet you will find it in every railway car in Australia, in every book-store and practically in every book-seller's stock.

The remedy for that kind of tourist is that we should have a closer connection between those who are authorized to speak for their particular representative bodies. If we could only have people like yourselves, gentlemen, who could come over to Australia and enlighten us upon some of the conditions that guide your lives, no doubt that would be of inestimable benefit to the whole British Empire. You have—besides the affliction from which you will never be rid of, the dignified tourist who travels around and who simply condemns everything he sees—the gentleman who is entirely self-appointed, who is not even a recognized publicist in the way of books or newspapers. We have got that kind in every part of Australia and New Zealand and have managed to endure him. But you have also visitors to Canada, as we have to Australia, who deem it their bounden duty to go away always as adverse critics and who have, very unfortunately, admission to the columns of influential newspapers and their general observation, instead of at all tending to the elevation of our own people and Empire, is solely that of pessimism. Now, I always doubt

* Editor's note.—Mr. John Foster Fraser.

the pessimist. I don't remember the name of the great Frenchman, but he was a man of perception who said that the optimist lives in the world, and the pessimist is only a spectator. You have here a man resident, a University Professor*—he is not in this room—who is very adverse to the idea which we regard in Australia as the most sacred of all and that is the idea of binding together the peoples of our race for the purpose of preserving that race. You will all agree, I think, that the whole aim and scheme of the workings of civilization is to go from chaos to cohesion.

Now our British Empire was established, if I may use that word, or grew, in a kind of irregular unforeseen chaotic manner. The vast possessions in the South Pacific were obtained, some of them, by the very merest chance and our people have spread individually, unguided and unregulated, over various parts of the world. But we are, at least, in possession of these people's proposal, the University Professor amongst others, whose dicta are spread, as I have said, by cable and newspaper throughout the Empire. These people want to break up that idea of an established Empire. We will allow that the word "Empire" does not convey clearly our idea. We mean a confederation of inter-related but independent and entirely free peoples, and we are thoroughly satisfied to have at the head of it the Emperor of India, the King of England. We have the enormous advantage of not having to choose a President. And, as I speak, it recalls to my mind a phrase I read in a very beautiful article published in a French journal, where one celebrated French Admiral said that there was one thing in which he truly envied his old friend, Admiral Drummond, and that was that during half a century he had served only one government. Now, that is our idea. We want our government to be perpetual.

I had occasion to say to my kind friend, Mr. George, here to-day that in Australia we claim to be more loyal than Lancashire. We would not tolerate the kind of lan-

* Editor's note.—Dr. Goldwin Smith.

guage in our Press or on our public platforms, without interruption, that is used frequently in England itself. I have myself attended at meetings in Great Britain and I was astonished to hear how vague was the idea of the British Empire itself—this gathering together of enormous forces, of a people spread over every ocean of the globe, with the idea simply of preserving their union and their own independent and free existence. We do not want aggression. We have quite as much of the planet as we can handle. In Australia we have three million five hundred thousand square miles, a gigantic continent that is held, half empty, in security by the British Fleet. We are there between the East and the West and you know, gentlemen, at the Battle of Tushima the centre was actually shifted very seriously. We were not far remote from the great disturbance; though one of the greatest men of the last century said it was not by debates in Parliament and Parliamentary measures that the great events of the world were decided, but by iron and blood. And you have seen how a very great change has taken place in what you call the far East simply by iron and blood—I allude to the Russo-Japanese war. We are no longer remote; we are close to what was recently a great centre of disturbance; and there may be a similar centre of disturbance in the Himalayas to the north-west of us.

What actual use we can be to the British Empire is not so easily told in the few minutes that I am to have the pleasure of speaking to you. We have at all events enormous coal possessions. If our British Navy wants a home they have what, I think, I may be allowed to say the very loveliest home on the planet, Sydney Harbour; and there they have a great central establishment and from Sydney, from New Zealand and from the other coal ports of Eastern and South Australia, as also from the West and North-west, they can obtain in case of an outbreak of war millions of tons of coal. No other Power has that and no other Power can have that so long as the Continent of Australia is a part of the British Empire and one of the great chain of communications which follow around the planet.

You have heard a great many adverse ideas about our restriction of immigration. I put in my pocket a leader from one of the papers. I don't think I will trouble to read it to you, but it contains one little phrase I have had myself occasion to use at different times and it comes from the opposite side of politics from my own. It is with reference to the introduction of the products of coloured labour and I would like to read some part of what it says. "We have still room for double or treble our present population . . . but however that may be, we are holding Australia in trust for the white race to which we belong and any proposal for handing it over to the black or yellow man comes too late now for serious consideration."

There is no question but that our ideas in Australia are completely democratic. I believe that in granting a vote to females we attain at once, so as to end all difficulties and discussions, the high-water mark of democracy; because it is inconceivable that anything further than that can be obtained. Now I have heard a great many arguments. I was not enthusiastic myself about it. I felt myself not at all able, mentally or otherwise, to seriously get at the arguments in its favour, but I did almost venture to think, and, although I am not a prophet, I did prophesy that there would be no very great differences found when it came to the point; there would not be those very great moral changes with only good men getting into Parliament. As a matter of fact you find that the gentleman with half a dozen wives is there just as he was before. Of course, it ought not to be and I am very truly sorry to hear anybody even smile at it, but it really is so; and it is by no means irrational, because a man, whatever his private faults may be, is there for a great purpose; and good work no doubt has been done by men whose private character was not absolutely white. For one moment digressing, I would like to give you one or two little points which may help. I don't know whether you have female suffrage here. There was an old lady of seventy years of age in the City of Melbourne addressing an audience in favour of

female suffrage; she was just about opening her spectacle case to get out her spectacles when a fellow in the audience shouted out: "Put on your blinkers, old lady," and she said: "Certainly, Sir, when you learn to put a bridle on your tongue." I venture to suggest that that lady was entitled to a vote. Another case where a fellow in the middle of the audience shouted out: "We don't want any screaming cockatoos here," and another lady instantly replied that "the gentleman's natural history was as far astray as his manners, because it was not the female but the male bird that screams." That was enough for him.

Now the Australian democracy may land the female vote, but no one can say. It represents over half the population, and is strongly, strenuously and determinedly in favour of a white Australia. They regard that great continent as held in trust; and I am personally exceedingly thankful to say that the same view is held in the Canadian Dominion; that you have no intention of admitting the countless millions of China who would certainly come here and snow you under if you gave them an opportunity. We have that experience in Australia, and although we have restrictive legislation we are unable to arrive at a diminution of their numbers. By all statistical reckoning, by all records, the numbers should diminish at each Census, because we know the number of arrivals pretty exactly; we know the number that go away by sea pretty exactly; but deducting one from the other gives us a wrong result, because we find there are absolutely more at each decennial census than there were at the preceding one. How that comes about I don't know. I am told in Southern California that something of the same sort has occurred there, that they find that the numbers do not diminish notwithstanding their restriction. In answer to those persons who are continually urging for the benefit, at least of Australia, that we ought to have an influx of such races, I say that you can no longer keep track or control if you open those gates as they

have been opened in South Africa, and it is very hard indeed to see how the thing is going to be corrected.

In Australia the democracy will allow no enormous land grants to railways, not but that it might be right and have a very great deal in its favour, and many of us would have been most willing to have something done there of the kind you have been doing here; but they will not agree, whether rightly or wrongly, that these large blocks of territory should be granted to these railways because they say such things are held in trust for those of our race who are resident in the other parts of the Empire. I think that gives you a general view of the intensity and genuineness of the Imperial idea that is current over in Australia and in the Australian democracy, male and female. You have heard a good deal perhaps, and certainly in the English papers there has been a great deal printed, about the restriction of white immigration. You have heard perhaps of the celebrated six hatters—some men imported under contract to act in the capacity of foremen in the production of hats in the City of Sydney. They were delayed for a few hours. There would have been no difficulty whatever if the man who imported them had arranged with the Administration in the first place for their admission. I have known a man to come over to the United States who employs six hundred men in the manufacture of glass products in the two Cities of Sydney and Melbourne. He wanted to have modern methods and arranged with a large number of men, and, also I suppose with their employers, for these men to come over to Australia and introduce those methods. The men asked him, "Are you sure that we will be allowed to land there at all? We have heard very much to the contrary." He said: "I know my business; I have arranged in advance; I have complied with the laws and the employers."

I am very careful to get these things in writing when it comes to a red-hot controversy such as this will be when I get to London. I have the statement of the importer of the six hatters. The employers asked him:

"Are you sure you will be able to get these men to land in Australia? Will they be permitted? Because in the United States you could not land them under any conceivable circumstances." He said to them: "It is all right, I will take them there." They were taken there and they are at work there and there was not one moment's trouble in landing them. But this is the intention of that legislation, that you shall not import for any reason men who will reduce the status of living of the people of the Commonwealth. I want to say to you, gentlemen, as President of the Associated Chamber of Manufacturers and President of their Council, which surely must be representative, that none of us want that interfered with; none of us want to see such a condition of things as there might be through any influx from Austria, from Poland or Russia, or anywhere else, which would mean a heavy reduction of the means of living, of the status of living in the Commonwealth of Australia.

We would like to see some modification of the contract clause; we would like to see a just provision whereby people might be introduced into the Commonwealth without so great a restriction as referring to the Minister and to allow such men to be brought in as are not obtainable in Australia. We would like to be able to import such men provided there be no interference with the manner of living, and provided they are able to speak one or two European languages. I think under those circumstances there should be no restriction to our introducing them under contract labour. But that circumstance and that clause has been used far and wide to vilify the people and the population of Australia and to do us an injury which is altogether unwarranted and unjustifiable throughout the British Empire. You are aware, no doubt, that in Australia we do lack an increase of population, commensurate with our area. It may interest you just to see how Canada and Australia compare in that respect. In 1861 the population of Australia was but 1,500,000 and of Canada, 3,000,000; in 1891 the figures were 3,200,000 and 4,800,000; in 1901 the figures were 3,770,000 and 5,370,000 respectively;

in 1904, 3,988,000 and in Canada, 5,500,000. So that the difference had diminished a good deal. You had a big start of us, but you didn't actually keep it up.

Now we are turning our attention most seriously to that condition; and also the Governments are turning their attention to a serious matter which has always been very near to our heart and that is the preservation of the lives we have already got in Australia. I believe that very few of you could have an idea, unless you were empowered to sit on a Royal Commission of Inquiry—which amounts to an inquisitorial inquiry where you can bring a man whom you suspect of wrong-doing and demand answers from that man—you can have very little idea of the destruction of life that goes on by the sale of poisonous and deleterious drugs under secret formulæ. That is what is now seriously engaging the attention of the Government of Australia; we hope to arrive at a condition of things in that respect somewhat similar to that which has been done in Germany and Switzerland where there is an absolute prevention and it is treated not simply as a misdemeanor but as a felony for a man to pack poisons and sell them as a cure for all the ills of mankind.

I would like once more to be permitted to emphasize my idea of strengthening the bond of union throughout the British Empire. I admit over and over again that the word "Imperialism" does not adequately fit our ideas, but we have got in the course of years to love and admire and to be proud of it; and when people want to misrepresent us and talk about the Imperial idea and to make that an excuse for separation, we won't own it, we say we have got a word and we have a certain meaning attached to it and we are going to take it for what it is worth, and we will let it go at that and we are right well proud of it. Richard Cobden declared nearly half a century ago that the only way Great Britain would succeed in separating the Colonies from her was by the method of Free Trade. Now that is absolutely so. I am here to say that the idea of trade and the practice of trade in and of itself it not at all an elevating thing. If my honoured friend here on the left (Prof. Clark) will

recall his younger days when I suppose he was a pedagogue in the best sense of the word, if he found two little boys trading with one another and one had bought a package of Chinese crackers and traded it with the other boy for something worth ten times its value, he didn't talk to that boy and say, "noble youth." He said, "You little rascal, go and reverse that transaction." But I don't care how poor and insignificant the failure if the effort of that boy was to make a model of a steam engine or anything else there was a distinguishing difference and the pedagogue at once said: "Never mind, old fellow, go ahead, that is the true idea, that is the productive idea."

Now I am not at all here to sneer at the trading instinct. Like all the others it is of enormous value, but it is not in and of itself an elevating instinct. It has been misrepresented and mis-stated so that you have come constantly in your assemblies to hear always the trading interests stated first and the principle of trade stated as that upon which our Empire was founded. It was not. It was founded upon Industry and the man who laid the great foundation of the British Empire was a quaint old Quaker who built the first iron bridge which for two centuries has withstood the stress and strain of time. It was the man who first smelted iron with coal who laid the foundation of the British Empire.

It is not the idea merely of trade but Industry, and not looking on industry as something of value and trade as of no value; not of contemning protection and saying I want a thing at the cheapest price, no matter from whence it comes. The introduction of tram-cars from France, when they were building them in England, because they could get them cheaper in a foreign country, would not have been possible if those trams were owned by the State; the Government would have seen that they were made in the place, locally, and that the people in Great Britain themselves would get the benefit. I venture to say that it is only by recognizing the value of industry that the British Empire will be strengthened and will be able to resist all possible attacks, no matter whence they come.

NEXT-DOOR NEIGHBOURS.

Address by Mr. Ernest Howard Crosby, of New York, before the Empire Club of Canada, on Wednesday, November 15th, 1905.

Mr. Chairman and Gentlemen,—

I happened to come into the Dominion the other day at Brockville by ferry, crossing over from my own State of New York, and it was a particular pleasure to me to see no threatening sign of any kind there which would indicate that I was passing from one country into another. There were no fortifications; there were no troops. I couldn't help thinking how very different it would have been passing from one country to another on the Continent of Europe. Passing from Italy to France for instance, you have two peoples of very much the same race and blood—at least on the border—very much alike; and yet separated from each other by enormous fortifications, and the whole region covered by armed men at an enormous expense, causing very heavy and burdensome taxes; and they are continually changing the fortifications and armament to the most approved and modern type.

We are so accustomed to that kind of thing on the European Continent that I don't think we notice the very anomalous character of the situation. There are the two countries of France and Italy, for instance, armed to the teeth against each other—as all the others are on the Continent—and yet on the most friendly terms, their rulers out-doing each other in excessive courtesy and their ambassadors unable to express themselves with sufficient politeness when addressing each other; and yet those very countries are armed *cap-à-pie* against each other. If such a thing could happen in our individual lives we would see what an anomalous condition it is. I happen to live on a farm in Dutchess County, New York, and if I would get up some morn-

ing and find one of my neighbours, owning an adjoining farm, setting up batteries all along the line fences how surprised I would be; how extremely strange such a thing would seem to be. It is very certain that friendly relations between us would cease at once. He would not be likely to ask me to dinner and I am very sure I should not be likely to ask him to dinner afterwards. And yet just such a condition exists between countries and is kept up at enormous expense, at least on the Continent.

It seems to me that is one of the problems to-day in its widest relations for us to solve, to bring the nations to which we belong to the point of good manners, if you please, that we have reached as individuals. It is perfectly true that we do as individuals carry revolvers, especially if we live in a lonely place, but we only carry them for protection against the criminal classes. It is analagous in nations to arming against brigands or things of that kind, but that is a different thing to arming against your social equals. But on the Continent we see the nations arming against friendly nations in the most excessive and costly way. Now, of course, there is just this to be said in favour of such a condition of affairs and that is, since we can recollect, it has always more or less existed, but I see no reason why it should be. If we could go back in the history of Italy for four or five hundred years, we find that they used to have one city armed against another city; Pisa and Florence and all the rest of them had their tremendous fortifications; and if it was on the sea they had their navy like Genoa, and at that time a great part of their income went to provide for the expenses of these things, and there was continual fighting between them; and I can imagine if we had dropped down in Italy then or France, for instance, and said, "What a foolish thing it is," and "Take down these fortifications, these people are no more anxious to fight you than you are to fight them," I can well imagine how we would have been treated. It is quite likely a man would have had his head cut off for his pains. They would have said, "We

have always done this way." And yet if we go to Italy to-day we find those cities entirely at peace with each other.

Now, you will say the answer to that is that they have consolidated themselves into a union. But that is only one way to bring these things into that condition. It is the same as it is between individuals. But we find that cities that are far short of having any form of consolidation are not quarreling with each other nowadays. In fact it would be difficult to think of a cause of dispute. If we had the same state of affairs that existed in Italy four or five hundred years ago to-day we would have great fleets on the lakes and we in Toronto would be on the lookout for expeditions from Kingston or Hamilton or wherever it might be, but see how different we are to-day. And the same way with the cities on the other side of the lake. And that is the position with the cities of Rochester and Buffalo or any other cities on Lake Ontario. So why can't we apply the same principle to nations, and do away with these enormous armaments on the Continent of Europe?

We have not got anything of the kind here but, I think, there are not wanting signs both in the States as well as here that there are a few people who favour the state of things in Europe. They would like to copy things over there and throw away our born right to devote ourselves to industrial and domestic affairs. So I think we have a good deal to learn from Europe, but I think it is in the way of warning. Let us keep up the system of living as nations on this side of the water in a gentlemanly way. I think one way to keep up the good feelings between the countries is to remember when we see or hear little things that are not always pleasant that the people of a country are very rarely unanimous about anything. If some person says something or does something that you do not like it is nice to think of the great number of people who do not agree with him and who would much rather it had not been done. We have our Governments representing the majority, but I am not sure whether it would not be a

good thing to have representatives of minorities go across the waters and confer with the other countries. I consider myself a patriot in every sense of the word, but I think I can say that there are times when we do things in the United States that a great many people would rather had not been done. So you must not think that a single action that you didn't like is the unanimous will of the people. That could not possibly be so.

In considering my own country I would like to call your attention to the fact, and, of course, you know it very well, that the most conspicuous actions of our President have been in the direction of peace. We are all of us proud, I think, in the United States that he was able to bring about the great result that he did at Portsmouth, and every credit is due to him for it. And I would like to remind our people sometimes when we are talking about our President—I like to remind them—that his greatest achievement is not that of flourishing the big stick but of banishing it, and in coming over to your country I am glad to say that the King has won the popular title of peace-maker by achievements perhaps not so conspicuous but of the same kind; and it is a good augury to have at the head of nations men who have acted and are acting in that way.

Well, sentiment is a very good thing as far as it goes, but I know you are all practical men. I am somewhat tempted to yield to it sometimes myself, and in the way of sentiment I may say, before I come to the practical part, that I had the good fortune to live for some time once in a small community in Egypt which was almost exclusively British and the only thing I discovered in my British neighbours at Ramleh, just out of Alexandria, the only difference between them and my own countrymen, was that they treated me a great deal better than I should have expected to be treated by people of my own land, and it wasn't a mere matter of temporary hospitality either. Never for a moment did they allow me to feel that we were surrounded by foreigners, and I always felt at home under the Union Jack. I would like the time to come when every American would feel

at home under it and I would like every Canadian to feel at home under our flag. It seems to me that we are in a very good position to set a good example to the world.

The matter of arbitration is a ticklish one to touch upon. Arbitration is a new thing between nations. Nothing works perfectly when it is first tried. If you get your Blackstone and study the Jury system you will find how hard it was to get it started. For a long time they decided the guilt or innocence of a person without a Jury but it was a very bad way, and then they called in the bystanders, but that wasn't satisfactory because the bystanders had prejudices. Finally the witnesses were separated from the Jury and their functions were specialized and we have the Jury system of to-day of which all English-speaking peoples are proud. But it wasn't a success at first. And in this matter of arbitration I think there is real danger. I think sometimes our arbitrators may be chosen in an unwise way just as the jurors were at first. The ideal arbitrator is a Judge with no ideas but judicial ideas and no interests but the interests of his country. I will not say that my country has not been a sinner in this respect. It is too often that we have selected advocates, and we have had arbitrators who thought it was their duty not to decide on the absolute facts but to take other things into consideration, and that may happen several times again; but let us be patient for awhile and let us do what we can to improve the thing. It is going through the same first stages that the Jury system did and, at all events, it is better than to have a war between two nations who ought to be friendly.

Then there is the little arrangement that was made between Great Britain and the United States away back in 1817. Now, it is quite possible that as you live on the great lakes it is a very trite piece of history to you, and possibly so to the citizens who live on the borders, but I can speak for the most of my countrymen when I say that most of them are in absolute ignorance of this Treaty. I got a book down to ferret it out, but I was

astonished to find just a few lines on the subject. They call it an arrangement, not a Treaty, and out of that whole book, dealing with Treaties, I am not sure but that arrangement does not contain the germ of one of the most important, if it is not the most important, precedents that is laid down there in that Treaty or that the United States Government has made up to the present time, and yet it has been overlooked. I am not speaking for the Government, but I would like to publish and spread abroad in all parts of the world where it would come to the notice of all people who are thinking of such subjects the ideas that are contained in this little so-called arrangement. It was made in the year 1817, just after the war between Britain and the United States, just after a time when our great lakes were filled and dyed red with the blood of the British and the United States people, and it seems just at that time they wisely determined to do all in their power to prevent such a thing happening again in the future.

I just jotted down a few little things about this little arrangement which was completed April 28th, 1817. The Navy force to be maintained by His Majesty and the Government of the United States henceforth should be confined to the following vessels: on Lake Ontario to one vessel not exceeding one hundred tons burthen and armed with one eighteen-pound cannon, and on the Upper Lakes to two vessels of the same burthen and the same guns and on Lake Michigan another similar vessel, and all other armed vessels in these Lakes should be forthwith dismantled and no such vessels should thereafter be built or armed. Just imagine what the state of affairs might have been if that had not existed. Suppose, with the naval record behind both parties we had entered into a naval rivalry upon these lakes. Think of the fortifications that would have been necessary. Think of the ship-yards devoted to building navy vessels. Think of all the discoveries that have been made in naval arms, how the old vessels would have to be set aside and others built, and then think of the fortifications all along the line of all kinds that would have

been necessary. Think of the different water-front that Toronto would have presented in order to have all those strongly-armed vessels and fortifications; and all this has been avoided by this little so-called arrangement.

Now it seems to me that there is a principle there that could be very well taken up and applied in other countries. The Eastern question is the great question just now. Is there any reason why the advocates of peace should not go to the great Powers and say to them: Here is a little simple arrangement that has worked over here in the West and why can't the same principle be applied in the Pacific? Why isn't it possible for representatives of the Powers to sit around a table and see how many ships would be necessary and designate the number. Why isn't it possible to go to the Mediterranean and say the same thing there and after gradually taking in first one sea and then another why can't the same principle be applied—why can't the same precedent be followed everywhere? Isn't it perfectly logical to come to that conclusion because we have tried it on a small scale ourselves and it has worked. And if you can do it upon the sea—perhaps it is going to a Utopian degree—why couldn't this be done on land? Why couldn't those standing armies be reduced? And if the scoffers should say it is impossible, why say it has worked on a small scale and it can work on a larger scale, because if things will work on a small scale they ought to have a good chance of succeeding on a large scale.

It has been our experience during the ninety years since the War of 1812, to have the little quarrels and disputes which are almost unavoidable between peoples living with a long frontier between them, but, thank God, we have never had a war. I am thoroughly convinced that that would not be a true statement if we had had armies lining the boundaries line between Canada and the United States. It is perfectly certain that if these dangerous toys had been lying about we would have found some provocation for using them, or taken advantage of some misunderstanding for using them.

But I want to express my opinion—perhaps with a little diffidence—to express an utterly different opinion from a distinguished member of my country who thinks that there is a place for great armies and great armaments. There is a great minority in the States who think there is no place for them, and we are very glad that the only idle ships that have been lying around the great lakes have been of 100 tons burthen and the little gun that they are armed with. Gentlemen, can't we do something, you on your side and I and my friends on mine, to create a public sentiment that will refuse to go any further in the somewhat unneighbourly manner that has been in the past. Believe me when I say that sentiment is far better to-day in our country than it ever has been and do not let us do anything to change it or alter it and let us not think for a moment that any degree of peaceful hostility should show itself on either side. Let us keep our borders unfenced and then I think we shall have an opportunity to continue for a very much longer time than we otherwise would as good "Next-door neighbours."

RECENT DEVELOPMENTS IN PARLIAMENTARY INSTITUTIONS.

Address by Mr. R. L. Borden, K.C., D.C.L., M.P., Leader of the Conservative Party in Canada, before the Empire Club of Canada, on Thursday, November 22nd, 1905.

Mr. President and Gentlemen,—

I esteem it an honour to be invited to say a few words to the gentlemen of the Empire Club on this occasion. The subject upon which I wish to speak is the recent development of Parliamentary government in Great Britain as well as in this country. It may at first blush strike you as possibly a rather dry subject for such an occasion. But, after all, it is well that the people of our country should have a knowledge as intimate as possible of the methods by which the government of the country is carried on and of the tendencies from time to time in the development of that system of government and of Parliamentary institutions in general.

Now, speaking of that development during the past two centuries in Great Britain, it has been said by a great constitutional writer that it has been "much more casual and accidental, much less necessary than is commonly supposed. It was not a necessary result of the growth of the spirit of liberty, but a very peculiar result of very special circumstances." Let us always remember, in considering the system of government which we have to-day, that the idealists of the 18th Century, the men who had certain definite ideals before them as to what free government in a free country should be, were aiming at exclusion from Parliament of those invested with executive power. In other words the aim of the English statesmen of the 18th Century was to separate the legislative and executive branches; and it was for that very reason that in the Constitution of the United States, as we have it to-day, the exercise of executive



MR. ROBERT LAIRD BORDEN, K.C., M.P.
Leader of the Conservative Party in Canada.

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power is so especially separated from that of legislative power. The framers of that Constitution rightly understood this to be the aim and object of the English constitutionalists of the 18th Century; and basing thereon to a very great extent their own ideals, they inaugurated conditions of government in the United States of America very far removed from the system which we have in Canada and in Great Britain at the present time.

Our system in this country as well as in Great Britain is government by party. This is sometimes treated, in fact very often, as a somewhat discredited system of government. And neither in this country nor in Great Britain is much said in favour of party government; yet it is, to a certain extent at least, the basis of the institutions under which we live; and until we can find something that will take its place, something that is better for the purpose, we must utilize the party system as best we can, make it as efficient as possible and introduce into the government of the country carried on by that means the highest and truest standards; of which we shall not be ashamed in the face of the Empire or of the world.

An English writer in speaking of this subject, a gentleman who has written a very interesting book which deals very elaborately with some of the matters of which I am speaking to you to-day—I refer to Mr. Sidney Low—has said in a book which he published last year: "The division into parties is, in fact, essential to the operation of our constitutional machinery. Our government is a system whose successful working pre-supposes the existence of two great parties and no more; parties each strong enough to restrain the violence of the other, yet one of them steadily preponderant in any given House of Commons." Party system has been said to depend upon the accidental deposition of the Stuart Dynasty in Great Britain and to the factions which arose in Great Britain two hundred years ago in consequence of that deposition. This seems to me rather fanciful. The division into parties or groups is almost inevitable under a government carried on by

Parliament. The group system, for example, has developed in France. During a certain period of twenty years, France had twenty ministries and seventeen different Ministers of Foreign Affairs. In Great Britain there has been some tendency in the same direction. There has, for instance, been the Irish Nationalist group, which, as you know, has given considerable trouble to the two great political parties during the past twenty years.

I do not for one moment pretend that evils are not attendant upon the party system. There are certain evils which are inseparably associated with our representative institutions. But we can at least say of representative government in Great Britain or Canada that it is more in the interests of the great mass of the people than any other system which has been devised by human wisdom up to the present time. Academic criticisms are sometimes made by gentlemen who have not, perhaps, been in very close touch with the methods by which party government is carried on. But I do not deny that certain criticisms upon that form of government have a very considerable force. For example, sometimes a Government may represent a majority of the votes in Parliament, but it may not represent a majority of the people of the country. Party system does necessarily exclude for the time being from participation in the government of the country a considerable proportion of the people of the country. The party system may exclude from any share in Government, from every great judicial office and every high public trust, one-half or nearly half of the population of the country for fifteen or twenty years, it may be, or even more. This has been more noticeable here than in Great Britain for the reason, perhaps, that governments in Canada exercise more influence over certain elements of the electorate and thus are more surely enabled to extend their term of power than is the case in Great Britain. The writer to whom I have just referred utters a very emphatic sentence in this connection. He says: "The spectacle of millions of free men, in a free State,

habitually governed in opposition to their own will, and their own conviction, is so astonishing that we prefer to avert our gaze from it."

This consideration does not, perhaps, obtrude very much upon our thoughts, but when we come to reflect upon the conditions which are necessarily incident to party government in that regard, we must admit there is something extremely anomalous in such results. Now the essential feature of party government is the Cabinet system. Members of the Cabinet in this country discharge three functions. In the first place as members of the Privy Council they are advisers of the Crown and responsible for the acts of the Crown, which theoretically can do no wrong. In the second place as a Committee of Parliament they are responsible to Parliament. In the third place as heads of departments they are invested with administrative and executive powers, including the sole right to initiate expenditure of public moneys. No private member of Parliament can propose a motion or introduce a bill for this purpose. Under the terms of our constitution in Canada and by the constitutional custom in Great Britain, the assent of the Crown is necessary and that can only be given through the advisers of the Crown.

Now another very curious feature of the Cabinet system is that it is not, strictly speaking, a Committee of Parliament because it does not represent both parties. It is a partisan committee, it is a committee of one party in Parliament. Not only is it a partisan committee, but it is also a secret committee. You perfectly understand, of course, that my observations upon methods of government in this country have no partisan significance. I am dealing with conditions exactly as they exist, whether the Liberal Party or the Conservative Party may be in power. Up to, perhaps, a century ago, the great tendency of Parliamentary institutions in Great Britain was toward the transfer to Parliament of the enormous powers which had formerly existed in the Crown. And you will remember that even after Parliament acquired a very great control, the Crown through

certain influences which it was able to exercise had a very considerable and a very important influence in the selection of the representatives of the people in Parliament.

The trend of the last sixty or seventy years and more especially, perhaps, of the last thirty or forty years, has been to shift that power from Parliament to the Cabinet. That has been remarked in Great Britain by many writers to whom I might refer if it were necessary. The same tendency is observable in Canada. Mr. Low, in the work to which I have referred, says: "Much of its (Parliament) efficiency has passed to other agents. Its supremacy is qualified by the growth of rival jurisdictions. Its own servants have become, for some purposes, its masters. The Crown is at least as powerful as it was when the Throne was occupied by a retired royal lady. The Cabinet is more powerful, and has drawn to itself many attributes which the Commons are still imagined to possess. The electorate, more conscious of its own existence under an extended franchise, wields a direct instead of a delegated authority. And causes, internal to the House itself, have deprived it of some of its functions, and limited its exercise of others." And then he goes on to observe that not only has this development taken place, but there has been formed in the United Kingdom what has been called a conclave of the Cabinet; that is to say an inner Cabinet; so that all the Ministers of the Crown do not possess an equal initiative in regard to the policy of the Administration or the measures which may be brought down. One illustration of this is in connection with the Irish Home Rule Bill introduced by Mr. Gladstone. It was supposed by those who followed him part of the way in connection with that measure that the Bill as a whole would be submitted to and be considered by the Cabinet clause by clause before being finally determined upon. But, as a matter of fact, the Bill was drawn and settled by an inner conclave, as it appears, consisting of Mr. Gladstone himself, Mr. John Morley and possibly one or two other members of the Cabinet.

Let me quote just one word more in support of this view from the writer to whom I have already referred. He sustains the position that when the Government of Great Britain has once announced its policy and is supported by a sufficient majority in Parliament the debate which takes place in Parliament is sure to be ineffectual and does not exercise any real influence upon the fate of the measure. His words apply with equal force to the debates upon certain great measures in the Parliament of Canada in recent years: "Thus we have the curious fact that nearly one-half of the Legislature are not legislators at all, or only legislators on sufferance and on matters of no moment. They can neither make laws nor prevent laws being made. They can, it is true, talk about them while they are in the process of making; but so can anybody else. There was an Homeric battle series at Westminster, when the leaders of the Unionist Opposition raked the Home Rule Bill with their eloquence through the long-drawn days of the Session of 1893. But for all the practical effect these speeches had on the fortunes of the Bill in the House of Commons itself, they might as well have been delivered in St. James' Hall. . . . The Cabinet drafts its measures, and submits them to the Legislature; which considers and discusses them, as a body of persons arranged in parties, not as a collection of individuals each entitled to have his own opinion on public policy and allowed some opportunity of carrying his views into effect."

These are the opinions of a great English observer. He has also spoken, as I have already said, of the inner Cabinet or conclave which exercises so important an influence in Great Britain. I do not think in Canada we have that development quite to the same extent, although it is certainly true that in recent years the consideration of very important measures has been directly delegated to sub-committees of the Cabinet, and in that way there is, perhaps, a certain analogy to the practice which obtains in Great Britain. But in Canada, on the other hand, there has been a full development of the party caucus. It is a curious feature of our form of government that the im-

portant debate upon great measures is a secret debate in caucus and not an open debate in Parliament. The debate, which settles the fate of a great measure brought down by Government to Parliament—the important debate which settles the fate of such a measure—is the debate in caucus and not the debate which afterwards takes place in the House of Commons. The latter is a debate which is necessary under our institutions. Those who are opposed, in whole or in part, to any government measure must make their views known in Parliament, because only in that way can they make them known to the country. But, as it has been truly observed, the debate in Parliament has little or no influence in determining the course which the House of Commons shall eventually take with regard to the measure.

Some years ago I was very much impressed by certain observations of a gentleman from the West, a member of the House of Commons, who is not now living. His views with regard to the methods of Parliamentary government in Canada exactly correspond with those presented by Mr. Low. I refer to the late Mr. Jamieson, of Winnipeg. He said: "It would be a mistake to leave the legislation of this country in the hands of one legislative body. The effect of our system was to place a good deal of power in the hands of one man, the head of the Government. So long as he had the confidence of the House he was practically a dictator. If he were not a strong man then one or two of his Cabinet controlled the situation, made up their minds as to what should be done and then the policy was forced on the members who must either accept it or take the odium of differing with their party. Members generally follow in a matter they are uncertain about rather than vote against the Government. Under such circumstances an upper chamber is necessary."

Another gentleman, Colonel Tucker, lately member for the City and County of St. John, at the close of the Session of 1903, and after there had been a considerable debate upon certain railway measures brought down

during that Session, said: "Everybody knew that measures were decided in the Government Council and in the caucus. What was done in Parliament was of no consequence. For nearly eight months the House was in session and all that was said there was reported in *Hansard*. This talk was all a waste of time. Everything was settled in the caucus and the Council." I remember very well that the late Minister of the Interior, Mr. Sifton, in replying to a certain proposition which I had made for the development of our transportation facilities, pointed across the floor of the House and said: "You never could carry it out. You never could get it through caucus." Obviously the important point in his mind, from his practical experience, was to carry it through caucus, not through the House; because party discipline is usually strong enough to make party followers adhere to what is decided upon by the majority in caucus.

One reason for this is, perhaps, the increasing complexity and magnitude of public affairs. Leaving out of consideration the strength of party allegiance, the private member is not always able effectively to consider or determine great and complex questions. He is obliged to entrust them, to entrust his political conscience in some matters, at least in matters of policy, to those who are his party leaders and who have made a study of such subjects. As Mr. Low says: "The modern M.P. understands the condition of his political existence so well that, in point of fact, he hardly ever does vote against his party on any party issue, when his own side is in office. . . . In our modern practice the Cabinet is scarcely ever turned out of office by Parliament, whatever it does."

A very interesting letter was written to Mr. Low by the late Lord Salisbury some ten years ago and you will agree that Lord Salisbury's great eminence and experience in public life in Great Britain justly give to his observations on this subject the greatest possible weight and entitle them to our respectful consideration. Writing to Mr. Low after the publication of certain articles

which the latter had contributed to the periodical literature of Great Britain, Lord Salisbury said: "I think you reason quite soundly in showing that, in respect to the larger issues, the House of Commons is gradually losing its power, between the Cabinet on the one side, and the electorate on the other. The power which the Cabinet has of acting upon the various motives which guide members of Parliament is so great that the majority is more and more becoming a blind machine; but this observation only applies to the deliberate and considered decisions of the House of Commons. If there is time for party pressure to be applied, time to bring into play the importunity of electoral associations, a member of Parliament who is inclined to be recalcitrant finds himself very powerless and is more and more disposed to yield." It is beyond question that these remarks apply with great force to conditions in this country as well.

Another power which a Government possesses over its followers is this: It can always intimate to them, as I believe it is said that Sir John Macdonald sometimes used to do, that the Prime Minister will very reluctantly be obliged to ask the Governor-General for a dissolution if there should be any further difficulty about a particular measure then under consideration. I do not know whether or not my friend, Sir Wilfrid Laurier, has ever had occasion to resort to any suggestion of that kind. In Canada the power of a Government over its followers is certainly not less than in Great Britain; and I would be inclined to think it greater for two reasons. In Canada for public works in the various constituencies of the country we have very many more Parliamentary appropriations than they have in Great Britain; and another consideration is that of patronage, which in Great Britain is so happily removed from the sphere of party political action by the reforms which have been effected in their Civil Service. In Canada patronage is still an incubus upon members of Parliament, although apparently they are desirous that the system should be continued. For my own part, and speaking in this

respect simply my own individual opinion, I would rejoice to see this country follow Great Britain and the later example of the United States in that respect, and take away from the party political machine the power to touch many important matters of patronage which now are dealt with upon the advice and recommendation of members of Parliament or of political associations.

Another striking feature which illustrates the increasing power of the Cabinet is this. Mr. Low points out that in Great Britain a unanimous resolution of the House of Commons, or a resolution passed by a very large majority has practically no effect unless the Government of the day is disposed to take the matter up. For example, he mentions the fact that resolutions have passed the English House of Commons for the payment of members of the House; for the limitation of the hereditary principle and for the legalization of marriage with a deceased wife's sister—in the later case upon an enormous majority; and that all these proposals have failed to be placed upon the statute book of Great Britain simply for the reason that the Cabinet declined or was not prepared to act.

In Canada, we have exactly the counterpart of this. In the Canadian House of 1903 a Committee, unanimous except with regard to one matter, reported certain important amendments to the election law and they have not yet been enacted. Mr. Logan of Cumberland introduced a resolution declaring that the British Preference should only apply to goods entering Canada at Canadian ports. The motion passed the House of Commons unanimously. Members of the Government spoke in support of it. Yet up to the present time no action has ever been taken by the Cabinet. The measure has not yet become law. Also in 1903 or 1904 the House of Commons unanimously passed a resolution declaring that it is desirable to prohibit the importation, manufacture and sale of cigarettes, and yet, if I am correctly informed, the law in that respect remains exactly as it was before the passing of that resolution.

Now, is there any moral to point from all this? In the first place there is very great responsibility cast upon the Press—the fourth estate. I do not for one moment suggest that the Press is not discharging its duty. I would not be inclined to agree that the party system as applied to the Press is the best system in the world, although it may be the best system in Parliament. The work of Parliament, the policy, the methods, the aims and objects of those who govern Canada can be made known to the people in some dim fashion, at least, by means and only by means of the Press. Then, there is a greater duty and a greater responsibility cast upon the electorate by reason of the very tendencies to which I have referred. It is necessary that the electorate, who can quickly check a Government in any policy or administrative methods which are contrary to well established public opinion, should be vigilant and active.

That simply brings us to a text upon which I have often preached to my fellow-countrymen in Canada and upon which I intend to preach many times in the future, if I should continue in public life. The very nature of our institutions imposes upon every citizen the duty and responsibility of active interest in public affairs, of public service to the State; the duty of sharing in the public life of this country in whatever manner he may find his activities most useful. And, Mr. President and gentlemen, we never can have, we never can continue to have, those high standards of public life which we are entitled to expect in a country peopled by the stock from which the Canadian people come, unless every good citizen of this country is willing at all times to contribute a little of his time, his energies and his abilities towards giving us in Canada the very highest form of representative institutions which are possible and attainable in English-speaking countries.

I thank you sincerely for your kind and attentive hearing. To some, the subject may seem academic or even uninteresting, but I make no apology for it. One of the highest duties of citizenship is to comprehend and realize the methods and functions of Government. Our system is sufficiently complicated to justify attentive study.

COMMERCIALISM IN FIRE INSURANCE.

Address by Mr. E. P. Heaton, Manager, Insurance Department of the Canadian Manufacturers' Association, on November 30th, 1905.

Mr. President and Gentlemen,—

On December 31st, 1904, the property, real and personal, of the people of this country was insured against loss by fire in companies licensed to do business in Canada to an amount exceeding sixteen hundred and fifty millions of dollars (actually \$1,657,712,753), and to secure indemnity for losses sustained by fire there was paid in cash by way of premiums to the companies operating under Dominion and Provincial charters nearly nineteen millions of dollars (actually \$18,674,924), or over sixty-two thousand dollars for every working day of the year. Please observe that this statement applies only to the business transacted with licensed companies, for it is impossible to ascertain the amounts paid to the unlicensed companies, or to obtain information to justify a guess as to its volume and extent. Let us not pass over this statement without a due sense of its great importance. The figures are so large as to be almost meaningless even to business men; as a matter of fact, who can adequately comprehend what sixteen hundred and fifty millions of dollars really means? I wish to state this fact deliberately that we may obtain a clearer perception of the importance of Fire Insurance, for the more fully this is realized the more generally will it be admitted that, considering its importance, there exists a deplorable ignorance of the conditions that touch the subject at every point, and an equally deplorable indifference that is only excusable because of its universality.

Fire Insurance is the offspring of a great calamity. In 1666 the City of London, England, was visited by a conflagration that has had no parallel in times of peace,

and compared with which none have wrought the havoc or caused such wide-spread devastation and ruin; more than 13,000 buildings were completely obliterated, with a financial loss of over \$50,000,000, and the metropolitan city staggered under the blow. This calamity set men thinking, and in the year following clubs were started granting insurance not exceeding £500 on a single risk. In the same year one Dr. Barbon (sometimes called Barton) "set up his office for insuring houses and buildings." History does not tell us which first entered the field, the clubs or the Doctor, nor have I suggested them with a view to a claim of precedence; I have stated them merely to record:—

1st. That Fire Insurance had its origin in a basic principle of mutuality; and

2nd. Of Individual Underwriting.

The clubs were mutual insurance concerns, the Doctor's office was his personal business. Please remember these two statements as you follow me in a chronological record. In 1680, after thirteen years of active business, Dr. Barbon's office merged into "The Fire Office," for some time known as "The Insurance Office at the back side of the Royal Exchange." Twenty-five years later the office changed its name and called itself the "Phoenix Office"—this is not the company now known by the same name and which last year celebrated its centenary anniversary of business life in Canada. The present "Phoenix" was established in 1786, but there is no information as to the date of the death of its namesake, whenever that event may have occurred. This is certain, that from 1680 to 1710, a space of thirty years, this was the only Joint Stock Fire Insurance Company in existence, but at some time unknown, for causes unknown, it gave up the struggle and exists but as a memory of an historic fact.

Confirmation of the statement that the original basis of Fire Insurance was found in the principle of mutuality will be shown in the facts now to be hurriedly presented. Bear in mind that individual underwriting and mutual insurance clubs ran side by side for some years

as the sole occupants of the field. Just when the clubs ceased to exist is a matter of uncertainty, but evidently as quickly as one succumbed a newer and stronger organization took its place. In 1681 the Corporation of London took a hand in the proceedings and instituted a species of Municipal Insurance, which, however, received its quietus two years later at the hands of the Court of King's Bench. One of the main arguments used at the time in opposition to the corporation scheme was that Fire Insurance was beyond the corporate power of the city, but whether this contention held or not is not material, certain it is that the first scheme of Municipal Insurance had a brief if merry life.

At this early stage the benefit of Fire Insurance was fully realized and, consequently, at the demise of the scheme of the Corporation of London there was started in 1683 the Friendly Society, and I quote one rule from the prospectus of this institution which is of much interest to us to-day: "That every member shall contribute toward the making good such losses as shall happen . . . provided that no person be charged for any one loss above 30 shillings for one hundred pounds on brick houses and double on timber houses"—a very clear and succinct definition of mutual insurance and of the liability that attached to it. Under the scheme of this Society the original rate charged on the acceptance of a proposal was (and for convenience I use the equivalents in present day Canadian currency) 6½c. per \$100 on brick and 13c. per \$100 on timber houses, but each proposer had to deposit a guarantee of 33c. per \$100 on brick and 66c. on timber houses; the cash payment being one-fifth of the guarantee, and this is precisely the ratio that is in almost universal practice to-day, on this continent. In other words, for over 200 years, mutual underwriters have maintained the fixed basis of 5 to 1, a testimony to the good judgment of the pioneers in laying the foundations of the business.

In 1696, thirteen years later, the Hand in Hand Company was established, and in 1717 the Westminster. Both of these were started as purely mutual companies,

although the Westminster at a subsequent date diverged into two classes—members who were liable for the losses and entitled to the profits, and those who had no responsibility of partnership. These two concerns for over 200 years have stood in the glare of public opinion, have passed through trials and ordeals beyond number, and yet, sad to relate, for reasons that are not understood on this continent, both have this year succumbed to the tempting offers of Joint Stock Fire Insurance Companies, and both are now numbered among the “great has beens.” The history and record of these two offices constitute a wonderful chapter in the history of Fire Insurance and might reasonably form the subject of a much more extended reference than I can possibly give to it now. Their history is a romance, whilst the singularity of their demise might fittingly find expression at the hands of a more capable writer.

The pronounced success of the mutual companies naturally invited emulation from those who wished to divert the profits from the participating policyholders to the few favoured individuals, and it is not surprising therefore, that in 1710 a co-partnership of twenty-four persons established the Sun Fire Office on proprietary principles. As an evidence of its early success let me state that the shares originally costing \$100, held by twenty-four co-partners, were valued in 1713 at \$300; in 1714 at \$875; in 1715 at \$2,500, and in 1720 a share was sold for \$5,000. Thus did a practical monopoly thrive. The reign of Queen Anne produced several schemes of Fire Insurance showing how the system was taking hold of the business community. In 1714 the Union Assurance Society was established on the basis of “mutual and equal advantage to all,” but in 1805 this Company joined the ranks of the Joint Stock institutions. The number and extent of insurance and other schemes foisted on the British public between the years 1717 and 1720 caused the passage in the latter year of a Bill commonly denominated the “Bubble Act,” which effectually stopped the period of extended speculation. Out of it, however, grew the formation of the Royal

Exchange and London Assurance Corporation as marine companies, whose charters date from the year 1720, but both companies a year later obtained supplemental powers to transact fire and life business.

Whilst the Bubble Act was designed to prevent the British public being gulled by such extravaganzas as the South Sea Bubble and kindred swindles in the Fire Insurance world, it is worthy of note that the sentiment of the day demanded the reservation of the right of individual underwriting, and there is no question but that Lloyds, this now great organization, transacted fire insurance under this plan in addition to their primary function of marine insurance. If what I have so far submitted demonstrates anything, I think it clearly establishes that for the first one hundred years the principles of mutuality and individual underwriting were the conspicuous and predominating features of the subject we are discussing.

"Coming events cast their shadows before them," and it is not surprising that the early history of Fire Insurance in Britain repeated itself in the American Colonies. It is not easy to obtain reliable data as to organization and progress in the Colony, but it is said the first insurance office in America was opened in Boston in 1724, and from all accounts this was operated by and for individual underwriting. 1752 saw the establishment of the "Philadelphia Contributorship," an association on unquestioned and pre-eminent mutual principles. Two unique facts in connection with this Association are worthy of notice. In 1783 the Association sustained a loss by a house becoming ignited from its shade trees, and promptly they refused any longer to insure houses with shade trees. A number of members seceded and in 1784 formed the Mutual Assurance Company, but even they charged an additional rate for houses having shade trees. One of the policy conditions provided that trees planted after the insurance was made must be reported to the company and the additional deposit paid, or "the deposit money will be forfeited and the insurance become void." This is about as vexatious and

absurd a condition as many that find a place in the documents of modern companies.

The second fact in connection with the Philadelphia Contributorship, not generally known in this country, is that they now only issue perpetual insurance policies, one premium or deposit only being made. The cost of insurance in this Association, which has a very extensive business in its native land, is nothing more than the interest on the initial deposit, the principal being always at the option and disposition of the assured. In 1787 the Mutual Assurance Company of the City of New York was formed and remained the only native organization until 1796. In 1809 it became incorporated as a joint stock company; its name was changed to the Knickerbocker in 1846, and in 1890 it passed out of existence. As a last historic fact I may mention that 1794 saw the formation of the two first insurance companies on joint stock principles in America, Philadelphia again being the birth-place; both are in existence to-day, and one is well represented in the Dominion.

"In perspective" this statement now naturally asserts itself: "A certain element of mutuality exists in all companies." This must be so by the very nature of things, and no people of this or any other country have had this fact hammered into them more persistently than have our manufacturers by the representatives of what are now called "old line," but which in reality, as I have shown, are "new line" companies. No one fact has been more distinctly and emphatically asserted than that the companies must obtain from the insuring public enough money to pay losses, expenses, dividends, and to provide the necessary reserve fund to run off the risks on their books. The method adopted by the companies in recent years to obtain the money required for these purposes is well known to you all, and no room is left for doubt that, as far as premiums are concerned, the principle of mutuality defined in the good old adage "bear one another's burdens" has been applied unsparingly and with an eminent disregard for all considerations of justice or equity. Why one having property to insure located in an absolutely isolated and unend-

gered position should be called upon to contribute a largely increased premium under a class of risk that even the insurance companies do not claim has been unprofitable, because a Toronto conflagration has entailed the payment of large sums hitherto unprovided for, is one of those things beyond the comprehension of ordinary mortals.

It must be frankly stated, however, that mutuality in joint stock companies begins and ends with the obligations of the insured. Commercialism then steps in and takes the place of equality, the key-stone of mutualism; thenceforward the interest of the insured is subservient to that of the stockholder and the one and only concern and consideration becomes the profit the business will yield to those whose money is invested in the enterprise. We hear much in these days of the advantage of curbing the dividends allowed to be paid to stockholders of public utility companies and if Fire Insurance companies could be included in this category by which the rate of dividend would be limited to a fixed, even if a most generous, percentage, I venture to assert the premium burdens of the insured would be materially lightened.

"In perspective" let me now speak of the effect of commercialism upon joint stock Fire Insurance companies. I have already indicated to you that the first organized stock company showed such fabulous results as to warrant a \$100 share changing hands within ten years at \$5,000, a gold mine indeed! This Company in 1904, with a capital of six hundred thousand dollars, paid a dividend of \$570,000 or 95%. Noting this fact I have dug up some other facts that I will try to present to you in a manner unoffensive to all. Last year was a particularly bad year in the United States and Canada, owing principally to the Baltimore and Toronto disasters, yet from a statement published in the *Insurance Chronicle* of Montreal in their issue of November 3rd last I find that 17 British offices licensed to do business in Canada (16 being represented in the United States) paid dividends to shareholders amounting to over \$9,000,000 (actually \$9,144,920), or an average of over

30% on the paid-up capital. The following information is quoted without naming the Companies:—

Paid-up Capital.	Dividenda.	Ratio.
\$600,000.....	\$570,000	95
1,228,200.....	1,105,380	90
1,959,435.....	1,240,975	63
1,250,000.....	562,500	45
660,000.....	275,000	41½
1,500,000.....	480,000	32
1,324,400.....	470,540	31½
2,296,875.....	1,164,060	30
1,137,500.....	338,945	30

I know that this statement will be met at once by the remark, "Yes, but those are British Companies, doing a world-wide business; they paid their dividends in spite of the United States and Canada out of the interest on funds accumulated in past years and more favourable periods, and their quotation can only be regarded as a weak effort to raise a point that positively has no bearing on the argument you are trying to make." Part of this I agree with, part I take issue with. I quote the facts as typifying the influence of commercialism on joint stock Fire Insurance companies, and if a dividend of 95%, however obtained, is justifiable on a business that merely acts as distributing agents for funds received from the many for the benefit of the few who suffer, it must show one of two things—either that the many have paid much too liberally to the distributors for services rendered and interest on capital, or that the interpretation of what is fair and just remuneration is the subject of considerable difference of opinion.

For the past twenty years we have had repeated ever and anon the old story that joint stock fire insurance companies have been poor commercial investments, and while this is the case both in respect to our Canadian Companies and also to some Companies of British and United States origin, the reverse is clearly and easily proved as far as British Companies now operating is concerned. Of the seventeen companies mentioned in the statement from which I am now quoting, I am only able to compare the actual results of eleven of them as between the years 1884 and 1904, and whilst a com-

parison of them all would have been perhaps fairer, I fail in the attempt because five were not then doing business in Canada and their records are not readily obtainable, and one had no capital with which the necessary comparison could be made. However, I believe the eleven whose record I have been able to trace would be found on full investigation representative of the whole seventeen, and the comparison may, therefore, be regarded as fairly reliable:

Comparisons of 11 British Offices, 1884 and 1904.

	1884.	1904.	Increase.
Capital paid up	\$19,222,555	\$20,451,510	\$1,228,955
Dividends paid	3,738,075	6,216,325	2,478,250
Ratio of dividend	19½ per ct.	30 per ct.	10½ per ct.
Invested fire funds (including capital account).....	71,378,419	146,603,775	75,225,356

This is no fairy tale, nor fancied agglomeration of figures; they are startlingly true, and surely testify in language that cannot be misunderstood that, at least so far as eleven British offices are concerned, the commercial aspect of Fire Insurance has neither been lost sight of nor gone without a reward beyond the dreams of ambition and avarice. In 1884 three United States Companies were doing business in Canada; the capital employed was then, as in 1904, \$6,250,000. The dividends in 1884 I have not ascertained, but in 1904 they paid an average of 20% (actually \$1,279,325). Six other Companies doing business in Canada in 1904 that were not represented here in 1884 also paid average dividends of 20%. The whole average is not equal to that paid by their British confreres, but it is tempting enough to almost make one forget the losses and disasters which are held up to us as making the business most precarious and alarming. That the three Companies doing business here in 1884 also show an increase in their accumulated funds of \$21,605,890 is nothing, we shall be told, when consideration is given to the increased liabilities, but we find also that, in addition to the large dividends these Companies have paid, they have by strict attention to business and rigid economy more than doubled their actual net surplus

(actually, 1884, \$5,366,557; 1904, \$12,147,907; increase, \$6,781,350) after providing all necessary reserve to run off the risks in force on their books.

Has the effect of commercialism on the Fire Insurance business been for the benefit of the insured in any sense of the word? "He that runs may read," and surely there can be no uncertain conclusion drawn from the facts just submitted. Lest, however, there should still linger in the minds of anyone any doubt on the subject, I would like to hurriedly present to you some further figures. I freely confess that I am drawing them from both the United States and Canada, in those spheres and conditions which most favourably affect the view I am trying to impress upon you; and I make no apology for doing so, because, while they are the most favourable, they are the most natural sources from which to draw. In the republic to the south, the centre of mutual Fire Insurance is found in the States of Rhode Island and Massachusetts; in Canada it is in our own Province of Ontario. The figures I now give you are for the three years preceding the present one. They are taken from the official reports and are subject to verification.

Comparison of Rhode Island, Massachusetts and Ontario Stock and Mutual Companies, 1902-1904 (Inclusive).

	Average No. of Companies.	Risks Written.	Premiums Collected Thereon.	Average Rate to Risks Written.	Losses Incurred.	Average of Losses In- curred to Risks Written.
RHODE ISLAND—						
Stock Companies..	103	\$422,671,433	\$3,937,119	0.93	\$2,079,812	0.49
Mutual Companies	20	1,555,765,239	12,775,874	0.82	992,661	0.064
MASSACHUSETTS—						
Stock Companies..	151	3,413,035,729	33,615,611	0.99	14,924,489	0.44
Mutual Companies	45	983,100,324	10,006,639	1.02	2,265,065	0.23
ONTARIO—						
Purely Mutual Companies.....	72	159,438,526	985,597	0.62	702,749	0.44
Stock Companies..	..	Figures un	obtainable			..
Cash Mutual Com- panies.....	12	17,306,293	1,035,543	0.60	Figures unobtainable.	

I cannot expect that you will readily absorb the full meaning of this last statement, but it will, I believe, well repay careful perusal. In regard to the Ontario Companies, we have little with which to make a comparison, but it is well known that the stock companies charge an average rate of 1:50% for three years on a precisely similar class of business to that transacted by the Ontario Mutuals, whose average is 62 cents, and it is also well known that the average of losses incurred to risks written is not less than 1:10%, against an average of 44% of the Mutuals. I cannot possibly touch upon the development in recent years of the principle of individual underwriting. This branch of the subject offers material that would of itself occupy the half hour allotted to me to-day. All that I can say is that I believe this particular feature will yet achieve a position of great importance in the insurance world, and possibly out of it may come a large measure of relief from the ills to which mankind has fallen heir through that spirit of commercialism that I have tried to fairly represent to you. Our insurance friends one and all tell us that the record for thirty-six years past shows that the Companies have made no money, and as they are not philanthropists what alternative have they than to make the people pay? Their contention is that the Canadian blue books show:

(a) An average loss ratio during that period of.	69'61%
(b) An expense ratio of say.....	30'00
(c) A further sum to run off risks in force say of.	3'50

Total outgo	102'11%
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In other words, that the business has just about met losses and expenses; it has not provided funds to run off existing risks (a feature that I at once admit must be reckoned with in considering results), and it certainly has not paid dividends on capital invested. I am, however, obliged to dispute the correctness of this statement, for I find by the record that during the last thirty-

six years the actual cost of doing the business has averaged 26·74%; in other words, the record has been:—

(a) Average loss ratio	69·61%
(b) Expense ratio	26·74
(c) Necessary to run off risks	3·50

Total outgo 99·85%

Therefore the Companies have made 0·15% on over two hundred millions of dollars (actually \$201,575,618) taken as premiums during the thirty-six years, or \$312,362, truly a sum too insignificant to be worth considering. Whilst I have been delving into the books to get the information I have just given you I have extended the scope of my enquiry, and one or two most interesting facts have presented themselves. I think they are sufficiently interesting to give to you.

Statement Showing Average Rate of Premiums, Losses and Expenses of Companies Reporting to the Dominion Government, Years 1869 to 1904, Inclusive,

YEARS.	Average Rate of Premium.	Average Ratio of Losses.	Average Rates of Expenses.		
			Total Expenses.	Paid for Com-missions.	Paid for Other Expenses.
1869 to 1878	1·02	86·10	22·75	16·20	6·55
1879 to 1888	1·15	63·00	25·16	18·55	8·61
1889 to 1898	1·33	64·60	28·96	18·38	10·58
1899 to 1904	1·41	71·80	30·08	19·12	10·96
36 years' average..	1·23	69·61	26·74	17·56	9·18

The figures of the past three years are doubly interesting.

1902.....	1·47	39·26	29·81	19·00	10·81
1903.....	1·50	51·57	30·17	19·80	10·37
1904.....	1·60	107·06	29·51	19·30	10·21

The figures, 1869 to 1878, as to expenses are only estimates, as I have not had access to reports earlier than 1879, but I have taken the expense accounts of 1879 as being the average for the preceding ten years. In this I think I am favouring the Insurance Companies'

position, as, judging from the geometric progression in each of the succeeding decades, it is reasonable to believe that in the first ten years the expense of conducting the business must have been less than the figures I have arbitrarily applied. The following comments seem to me to be exceedingly pertinent:—

(1) During the thirty-six years, \$53,901,320 of the people's money was paid to agents and brokers by way of commission.

(2) That as the rates of premium went up, the ratio of commission increased, a condition of things which, from the standpoint of the insured, is beyond excuse or justification.

(3) That a saving of even 5% on the commission paid to agents would have either saved to the insured, or preserved in the coffers of the Companies a sum of over ten millions of dollars, a respectable profit on the turnover.

(4) That with the commission on the ascending scale there is certainly no incentive to agents and brokers to seek to reduce rates or to make it a pre-eminent part of their business, as it should be, to put forth every effort to reduce the fire waste of the country.

(5) Conflagrations occur and pass into history; after these events the public are called upon to make good the amounts paid in consequence thereof, but on no single occasion have the Companies evidenced the slightest desire to alleviate the burden or rise to the possibilities of the occasion by curtailing an expenditure well within their power to regulate.

THE BANKING SYSTEMS OF CANADA AND THE UNITED STATES.

Address by Mr. D. M. Stewart, General Manager of the Sovereign Bank of Canada, before the Empire Club of Canada, on Thursday, December 14th, 1905.

Mr. Chairman and Gentlemen,—

This is the first time I have had the privilege of addressing the members of the Empire Club, and I beg to thank you very sincerely for your invitation. I can assure you that I regard it as a great honour to appear before you, but I also feel that it is a great responsibility. Recognizing this responsibility, and assuming that at these periodical gatherings you have no time to bother with theories and abstractions, I intend to confine myself to facts—plain incontrovertible facts—or to statements based on actual experiences.

Whenever I am asked to speak on Banking, especially Canadian banking, I always do so if possible, as I believe bankers are the proper people to talk about banking. It is a hard, practical business, about which arm-chair theorists can impart but little knowledge that would be of value in every-day life. I think it is a duty we owe to the public to disseminate accurate information regarding this subject, as it is one upon which the commercial, agricultural and industrial prosperity of the Dominion is vitally dependent. I believe in *publicity*, and an intelligent people such as we have in Canada cannot be too well informed about the laws which regulate and control their public institutions. When these laws are properly enforced and understood, the people may be relied upon to support them. A feeling of uneasiness or distrust in its public institutions must be detrimental to any country and demoralizing to its people, so that it is of the highest importance that our banks and other financial institutions, their methods and



MR. D. M. STEWART.

General Manager of the Sovereign Bank of Canada.

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management, should be so conducted, and at the same time be so understood, as to inspire and maintain the fullest measure of public confidence.

We are sometimes enabled to form a better idea and to appreciate more fully the value of our own laws and institutions when we compare them with those of another country, and it was probably this fact that led to my being asked to compare our Banking system with that of the United States. Two or three weeks ago I spoke on this matter at Ottawa, and as the discussion of such a topic seemed more or less appropriate at the present time, it was suggested that I address the Empire Club on the same subject. I must tell you frankly, however, that in the brief space of fifteen or twenty minutes, it is quite impossible for me to give you anything like a detailed comparison, and the best I can do is to bring to your notice a few of the main points of difference in the two systems.

I. CAPITALIZATION.

There are two kinds of chartered banks in the United States, namely, those operating under State laws and those incorporated under the National Banking Act. Both may issue notes and conduct a general banking business, but as there is a heavy tax (10%) on the circulation of State banks, these institutions are practically prohibited from issuing notes, and our comparison will, therefore, not include them. We have no "State," or Provincial, banks in Canada, all being operated under Dominion Act, the Provinces having relinquished their rights to legislate for banking and currency to the Federal Government at the time of Confederation (1867).

In the United States a National Bank may commence business on a capital as low as \$25,000, the amount being regulated by the population of the place of establishment. One-half of this amount must be paid up in cash, but the Government is satisfied with a sworn statement of the Directors that this requirement has been complied with, and the only positive proof of *bona fide* capital it exacts is the deposit of United States Govern-

ment bonds, whose par value equals only one-fourth of the bank's paid-up stock—or, \$6,250. In Canada the minimum paid-up capital required is ten times the amount necessary in the United States, namely, \$250,000, and this must be deposited in gold with the Dominion Government before the Bank can issue a note or do business of any kind. Most of this sum is returned later, its main purpose being to prove that the capital, to that extent, has been actually paid up. The incorporators must at the same time lodge with the Government a list of *bona fide* subscriptions for stock in the Bank to the extent of not less than \$500,000, and as subscribers are liable for double the par value of their subscriptions, the Canadian people have a guarantee of at least \$1,000,000—of which they know \$250,000 had been paid in gold—before the institution can open its doors for business. The Canadian system of incorporation, almost of necessity, creates a larger number of shareholders, and the wider the distribution of a bank's stock the better for the public. The minimum number of Directors is five, but there is no limit placed on the number of shareholders a bank may have.

In the United States *one man* frequently controls the entire capital, which is not difficult when the amount is so small as \$25,000. The system of regulating a bank's capital by the population is responsible for the creation of hundreds of weak and badly managed institutions all over the United States. After a country storekeeper has accumulated \$20,000 or \$30,000 his ambition is to be the President of a bank and he starts one with his own capital, giving some of his family or friends enough shares to qualify as Directors and comply with the Act. Thus, with \$25,000 he can start a National Bank, with all the legal powers and functions of a great New York or Chicago institution. He takes deposits, does a general banking business and sails gayly along until some customer fails, or a burglar cracks his safe, or the confidential clerk disappears with a few thousand dollars. Of course, these are exigencies to which the best managed banks in the world are exposed, but the country

storekeeper, who has had no technical training and knows nothing about the scientific distribution of his assets, does not know how to meet them and his bank is forced out of business, to the discomfiture of the poor man himself and the sorrow of the little community which confided in him.

Even in the largest banks in the United States the number of shareholders is comparatively small. The leading banks in the American financial centres are, in my opinion, very ably managed and generally successful, but their officers are trained bankers who owe nothing to the National Banking system. An indifferent system will not prevent good management; neither will the most perfect system save a bank from destruction through bad management. There are 33 chartered banks in Canada, and these are owned by some 25,000 shareholders who afford the public a total security of over \$169,000,000 in the form of "double liability" alone. When you hear someone railing against our banks as a "huge monopoly" just remind him that they are controlled by 25,000 partners—mostly good Canadian voters—but many of whom unfortunately are widows and orphans whose bank stock forms their chief or only source of income. American banks in the smaller towns are so susceptible to local conditions that a trade depression of comparatively small area will often bring them into difficulties. In Canada no purely local depression, however severe, could seriously affect any of our chartered banks. So much for the difference in point of capital and numerical strength.

II. BRANCH SYSTEM.

There is another great difference in the conduct of banks in the two countries. The National Banks of the United States are not allowed to open branches, and it is for the purpose of providing banking facilities in the smaller towns that charters are granted on the low capitalization already mentioned. We, therefore, find thousands of small banks scattered throughout the country, each one a head office and branch combined, and catering to the purely local wants of the community in

which it is established. If the community is rich, the bank will have more loanable capital than it can safely invest, and the temptation to embark in doubtful enterprises is very great; this has caused the downfall of many a National Bank. If the community is poor, the available funds of the bank cannot be large, and the progress of its customers is hampered by its inability to accord them proper financial aid. In such cases the rate of interest is unusually high, but this does not attract outside banking capital because there is no common connection between the bank with more money than it knows what to do with, and the one whose funds are fully invested.

The advantage of a branch bank to a small community is apparent when you consider that it is identical with, and has all the strength, backing and responsibility of its parent institution in the great financial centre, and that before ever this parent bank could open its doors it had a minimum paid-up capital of \$250,000 and a shareholders' liability of \$1,000,000. Contrast this with the minimum paid-up capital of an United States National Bank of \$12,500 and a shareholders' liability of only \$50,000.

In Canada the community in need of money for its legitimate requirements has no difficulty in obtaining it—at a reasonable rate of interest—from the wealthier community which has a surplus, as the branch system creates a bond of union between the two. This system brings even the most remote constituency in the far North-West into close touch with the great financial centres of the East. It so regulates matters that an abundance of crops does not create a plethora of money in one place, nor a commercial depression cause financial disaster at another. The parent bank being in touch with every corner of the Dominion, is able to assist a suffering community with one hand, while investing and protecting the resources of a more fortunate community with the other.

One of the most important results of the branch bank system is the equalization of interest rates throughout

the country. The borrower in Vancouver, where there are twelve branch banks and not a single head office, pays no more for the use of money than the same class of borrower, 2,000 or 3,000 miles distant, in Montreal, Toronto or Halifax, where the head offices of the Vancouver banks are situated. This is in strange contrast to the actual conditions prevalent in the United States, where there is a constant difference, varying from 2% to 6%, between the normal interest rates in the Eastern centres and those prevailing in the Pacific and Southern States.

Another advantage to a small community in having the branch of a large bank instead of a small individual bank lies in the fact that a branch manager is generally a trained banker, accustomed to consider local transactions solely on their merits. He is not usually swayed by family influence or local prejudice; his own personal advancement is in exact proportion to the success of his branch; he is a salaried official, not the owner of the whole institution. He is under no obligation or necessity to invest all of the depositors' capital in his own immediate locality, and he only makes loans of any size upon the authority of his General Manager and Directors, who are capable of impartial judgment, if the Manager is not. In this way, unscrupulous or visionary individuals are often prevented from embarking in schemes that would eventually involve themselves, the bank, and the community ministered to, in financial loss.

This system of connecting the outlying points with the great centres; this ability to gather up the wealth of the older portions of the country and distribute it amongst the newer sections; this method of giving to a rural municipality the benefit of the most mature thought, trained intelligence and impartial judgment on financial matters, form some of the most important factors in the development of any country along safe lines.

III. PAPER CURRENCY.

Another important feature of the Branch system is its usefulness in the distribution of our paper currency. Chartered banks may issue note circulation in Canada,

as in the United States, to the extent of their paid-up capital and no more—the law in this particular being the same in both countries. The currency question is most interesting, and I am sorry to be unable to go into more details, as in the limited time I must necessarily omit a great many points that ought to be dwelt on in a logical discussion of the subject. Putting it briefly, however, there are two absolute essentials to every good paper currency, namely *safety* and *elasticity*.

The circulation of the American National Banks is secured by deposit, with the Comptroller of the Currency, of United States Government bonds whose par value must equal the amount of the note issue. The United States Government would, therefore, have to become bankrupt before the note circulation could become worthless, so that there can be no doubt that the National Bank note circulation possesses the first essential—*safety*. The Canadian bank note circulation is equally safe, though secured in a different way. Every bank has to deposit and maintain with the Minister of Finance a sum in gold equal to five per cent. of its outstanding circulation, and the fund thus created, though contributed to by all chartered banks, is available for redemption of the circulation of any one bank. In this way the banks are responsible for the circulation of one another. But this Redemption Fund is only a small portion of the security. The note circulation is also a first or prior lien on the entire assets of the banks.

These assets, including shareholders' "double liability," amounted on 31st October, 1905, to \$896,540,065, as security for \$76,880,440 of circulation. There has not been a bank failure since 1867 in which the assets were not sufficient to meet the note circulation, even in the case of a notoriously bad failure in which, among other crimes, the concern was guilty of over-issuing circulation. Nothing short of the bankruptcy of the entire Dominion could imperil the bank note circulation of Canada, and I think we may, therefore, consider it quite as secure as that of the United States.

As regards the other essential, "*elasticity*," our paper

currency possesses this to a much greater degree than that of our neighbours, and this is generally admitted by American bankers. One reason for this is that the Canadian banks are obliged to withdraw from their loanable capital gold to the extent of only 5% of their circulation for deposit with the Government—and even on this they receive interest at the rate of 3% per annum. This fact alone provides a great incentive to our banks to get their notes into circulation, and when the crops have to be moved, instead of taking cash out of their ordinary business (in other words, calling in loans) they issue notes, thereby increasing the volume of money in circulation proportionately to the demand for it. The result is that year after year there is a steady flow of paper money every Fall towards the great grain-producing sections of the country, the channels which conduct it being the *branch banks*. All this takes place with the greatest regularity whether the crops are abundant or meagre, and without any excitement or financial trouble, and, what is very important, without the slightest fluctuation in the interest rate.

In the United States the harvesting of a large crop is almost invariably accompanied by high rates for money at the financial centres, where the greatest steadiness should prevail. The hundreds of small Western and Southern banks which finance the grain and cotton crops withdraw their balances from the New York and Chicago banks, which, instead of shipping their own promissory notes and adding to the volume of money in circulation send notes that are the equivalent of gold, as they have dollar for dollar in United States gold bonds deposited against them. To produce the extra currency for crop requirements their only recourse, therefore, is to call in money already in circulation, with the result that the rate of interest advances sometimes to abnormal figures. Already this Fall we have seen the interest rate in New York as high as 28%, and I have personally collected interest at the rate of 120% per annum on the highest class of gilt-edged loans, when I was Loan clerk in the New York Agency of one of

our largest Canadian banks. The United States National Banks have practically no incentive to issue notes. A tax of $\frac{1}{2}\%$ is charged on circulation secured by the 2% Government consols, and 1% on circulation secured by other classes of Government bonds. The deposit of these bonds to the full amount of the note issue is a hindrance to the extension of the circulation, which the people of Canada would not tolerate for one moment, and the United States Comptroller of the Currency is trying to overcome it at the present time.

IV. REAL ESTATE INVESTMENT.

The law in both Canada and the United States is the same as regards lending money on mortgages and speculating in real estate. Both are absolutely prohibited, banks being only allowed to take a mortgage as security for a past due debt and to confine their real estate investments to the actual land and buildings required for bank premises. This is a wholesome and perfectly proper restriction, which removes from our banks at least the temptation to buy building lots and town sites, or to lend money to their clients on such unrealizable securities.

In Canada many companies exist for the specific purpose of making loans or mortgages and assisting people to buy farms, build homes, etc., and these concerns have been an important factor in the general development of the country. If, however, you will pardon a slight digression which, I think, is not inappropriate, I may say that some of these companies have departed from their original purpose, and in view of past (may I say present) experiences I believe it to be in the public interest that certain restrictions should be placed upon all concerns that take deposits and do a banking business which is outside of their regular line. You are all aware of the losses our farmers and others have sustained through the failure of Private Bankers and Loan Companies whose funds were tied up in real estate, buildings and other fixed assets. Such concerns are quite legitimate and useful in their own sphere, but they only court disaster when they endeavour to do a banking

business as well. Taking deposits, which represent the savings of the people, often hardly earned, is a serious responsibility, which any concern should be very slow to assume, and I believe that to the absence of some such Government restriction as I have mentioned, or the failure to voluntarily adopt it for themselves, is due much of the trouble that has in the past overtaken some otherwise estimable institutions.

It is for the purpose of safeguarding the depositors' money that the Parliaments of Canada and the United States require the Chartered Banks to avoid real estate and kindred investments, which cannot be readily converted into cash. This is such an eminently sound principle, that, *conversely*, all companies authorized to make loans on real estate, buildings, etc., should be either prohibited from taking deposits or be required by law to maintain a certain percentage of their assets in actual cash as a reserve for the security of depositors, more especially when they accept deposits which are withdrawable by cheque and payable on demand or short notice.

V. CASH RESERVES.

Another important point of difference between the two systems is the treatment of the Banks' cash reserve. In the United States the law requires a certain fixed percentage to be maintained against deposits. In New York City and other "reserve centres" this is 25%, elsewhere 15%. Mr. B. E. Walker, one of our ablest exponents of banking, has likened the fixed cash reserves of the American banks to a Field Marshal's reserve forces kept in concealment during a fierce and prolonged battle which could have been promptly terminated, victoriously, by bringing them into action. A reserve of soldiers or of money is worse than useless if it cannot be availed of when wanted. Occasions have frequently arisen in the United States when that country was in urgent need of currency for its legitimate requirements while millions of money were lying concealed in the vaults of "reserve" banks and not one dollar of which could be put into circulation.

In Canada all banks keep a reserve in gold or legal

tenders in addition to their deposit with the Government, but the amount is not fixed by law, this being left to the prudence of the bankers. Our own experience, as well as that of the United States, has shown the wisdom of this policy, and the comparative freedom allowed the Canadian banks in the conduct of their regular business has gone far towards the establishment of our banking and currency system on the sound and efficient basis on which you find it to-day.

VI. REVISION OF BANK ACT.

In the United States the charter of a National Bank is good for twenty years from the date of establishment, and consequently the charters expire at various times. In Canada all Bank charters are made to expire simultaneously at the end of every ten years, regardless of the date of incorporation of any particular institution, the decade period being calculated from 1870. The expiry of the charters always affords an occasion for the Dominion Parliament to revise the legislation which controls the Banking system. This decennial revision is taken advantage of to correct any defects that may have been discovered in the application of the law to practical business operations. Of course, amendments may be, and are made, at any time, but this periodical revision has nevertheless resulted in giving to the people of Canada a singularly perfect Bank Act.

In conclusion, I need scarcely say that in comparing the Banking system of Canada with that of the United States, I have not been actuated by any unkindly feeling towards the latter country. I am too great an admirer of it for that. I do not claim that the Canadian system would be better for our American friends, or that it has ever reached a point where it could not be altered without advantage to our own country. But I do claim that the United States system would not be suitable for Canada, and that even with whatever imperfections may now exist, our present banking and currency system is the very best that could be devised for the legitimate requirements of our great agricultural, manufacturing and commercial interests, and for the proper development of the enormous latent resources of this great Dominion.

CANADA AND BRITISH TARIFF REFORM.

Address by Mr. Alfred Mosely, C.M.G., before the Empire Club of Canada, on December 20th, 1905.

Mr. Chairman and Gentlemen,—

I have only arrived in Toronto this morning, and I must be excused if my remarks are somewhat scattered. I have hurried along so that I might be with you and I am leaving for Ottawa to-night. Before commencing my remarks to you, will you allow me to correct an error which has appeared in the Toronto papers, where it has been stated that I am Chairman of Mr. Chamberlain's Tariff Commission. Such is not the case. I am one of the Commission—one of the Executive members—but I am not the Chairman. Lord Ridley, to whom the manufacturers who visited England last summer were introduced, is the Chairman.

Now, gentlemen, the question of tariff reform, I take it, affects us one and all—those who love the Empire—and the very name of this Club gives an inspiration in a direction that we know means something to the British people at large. You could not have chosen a more appropriate name for your Club, because the day is fast approaching when the Empire as a whole will be considered important to the world at large. We are but at the commencement, I venture to think, of our prosperity, providing we know how to use our opportunities; and it lies in the hands of the masses, of those who would seek like ourselves to lead the masses, to decide whether we shall say that the birth of the British Empire, the birth of the prosperity of England, has but commenced, or whether we shall accept the position of the inevitable, of those who do not march forward, the position of first standing still and of then going back.

Now, the British people, through their tenacity in the past, have shown the world that they know how to fight

when they are cornered. And, I venture to think to-day that we are cornered, in the position in which British industry is placed, when we are brought into such severe competition with those who do not buy our goods, but who close their doors against us, and seek to dump their surplus products upon the British market, thereby putting our people out of work, and lowering the general standard of the community. You have only to read the papers to know for yourselves the present condition of our workers. I, who have taken an active interest in the people of the Old Country for a long time, cannot remember such a condition as is approaching at the present moment. You read of the unemployed parading the streets; you have read only the other day when the King's daughter went to open a new scene of industry, which it was hoped would give them some relief, they jeered and cried, "We want work, not charity." Gentlemen, that is the position, I venture to think, of the bulk of the British race to-day. We want to work. We want the opportunity to extend our commerce. We want the opportunity to give education, and all that we desire leads towards the uplifting and the making of the Anglo-Saxon race which up to the present time has led the world.

Scientific dumping has become a perfect pest so far as the British Isles are concerned. Now, many of you here are business men, and, therefore, know what dumping means. It is that a protected country, having a protection surrounding its own industries, charging the whole of the fixed charges to the protected part of their industry, which is sold to the home consumer, seeks to increase its protection and to have a surplus to export. That surplus carries no fixed charges, because it remains entirely chargeable to that part which they consume at home. The surplus often represents merely the bare cost of the raw material, the bare cost of labour often enough representing fifty per cent. of the total cost, and those goods are dumped on our markets in England, rendering manufacturing not only unremunerative, but placing our manufacturers in the position of having to

accept a low price for all they are producing, and, therefore, sweating, not the machine, but the man, and placing themselves in a position whereby they are unable to keep pace with the present modern developments of machinery, and to regulate their factories in the way in which it is being done in the United States and in Canada, now that you have a protective policy.

The position of manufacturers, as I have said, is a precarious one. Not only are these goods dumped on the market, thereby rendering our own manufactures unremunerative, but it acts as a double-edged sword. These goods are sold irrespective of the cost of production at home, simply because this surplus costs considerably less than the ordinary products. The makers can afford to sell it perhaps at 25 per cent. less than their ordinary price, and still make a profit. It acts in a double sense in this way; these goods arrive in the British market, and compete with what we produce at home, and I need not point out to you as commercial men—and I know many of those before me belong to that class—that as soon as you put a surplus on the market at a lower price, even though it be but a small percentage of the whole, it drags down the price of the whole of the produce which is manufactured in the country in which the surplus is dumped. In other words a surplus of five or ten per cent. put upon an unwilling market will often reduce the price, not five or ten per cent., but twenty, thirty, forty and even fifty per cent. We have had an example of that in England lately in the article of sugar. There was something like, I think, 100,000 tons shortage of sugar last year owing to the drought in Germany, and the beet crop being small. I think I saw it stated that this shortage of the total crop amounted to only some seven per cent. of the total sugar which was manufactured in Germany. In consequence of that shortness of the crop, beet sugar rose from something like nine shillings per hundredweight to sixteen and six-pence. To-day, we have the full crop from Germany again put upon the market, and sugar has fallen to eight and nine pence—showing what an extraordinary

effect a small percentage has upon the whole cost of the production, and how a small surplus, either plus or minus, affects the price of the bulk of your goods.

The same thing was true in reference to the product of bacon some time ago. Bacon went down with a tremendous rush twelve years ago in England. Farmers had to give up keeping hogs. I made inquiries from a friend of mine who was largely interested in the bacon trade, and I said, "What is this? Why is it that it has become unremunerative for the farmers to raise bacon, and that we see the material being sold at so low a price?" And he said: "It is simply that America is dumping her surplus on our markets." I said: "Why does it have such an extraordinary effect as to reduce the price apparently fifty per cent? What is the total amount of their production?" And his answer to me was that the imports to Great Britain of the total production of the United States was something under four per cent. of their total. Yet it had the effect of putting down our prices something like fifty per cent.

Now, having just touched upon these important points as to the effect of dumping, let me tell you that it is having a most disastrous effect upon the condition of our working people. Those who employ labour—and doubtless there are many before me in that position—know that if a man has to walk the streets a certain length of time, and has to part with his goods and chattels, if his wife and children have to go hungry, he gets into a desperate condition, and often, if he succeeds in finding work thereafter, he is unfitted for regular and constant employment, and gradually drifts into a condition of submerged debt. You have all, no doubt, read that great book of General Booth's, consisting of twenty odd volumes on the condition of the masses! At all events you have read some extracts from it, and those who are interested in the condition of the masses have waded through all the volumes. To sum it up, it means that something like 13,000,000 out of 38,000,000 of our people are on the verge of starvation. That is a serious condition for any country to be in. It has brought dan-

ger to the Empire. This is what we have; this is the legacy of sixty years of free trade; and we are supposed to have had the market to ourselves, to have had the monopoly of supplying the manufacturing world.

It is only a generation ago that if the world wanted manufactured goods they had to come to England for them. But times have changed, gentlemen. The ideals of Cobden, if they were ever good, have passed out of existence. He assumed, and possibly rightly read his views at the time, that if England set the example of free trade the rest of the world might follow. Unfortunately for England—and I probably should not be addressing you now if his ideals had been realized—those other countries, instead of lowering their tariffs and making towards free trade, have all sought to build up their own industries independent of England—and I do not blame them for it—to put up a tariff wall against us until we are now in the position that those who were formerly our best customers are now our competitors. There is a new condition and we must rise to the occasion and meet these altered conditions with some form of protection for ourselves. I am not one of those who believe in wild protection such as they have in the United States, but I should like to see a tariff somewhat on the lines proposed by the Right Hon. Joseph Chamberlain, which lays down the principle that the first object is to secure our home market and then to consider how we can best manufacture to supply the neutral markets, and, above all, how we can draw the bonds closer between the Mother-country and the Colonies, and enter into some sort of fiscal arrangement which will be beneficial to us all, thereby increasing the comfort of the masses and giving increased profit to the manufacturers.

And, gentlemen, I need hardly remind you that it is impossible for the manufacturer to erect factories such as we should like to see, with air and light and comforts for the men, when they are struggling night and day to keep body and soul together, to keep their factories from being closed. I cannot appeal to you too strongly, gentlemen, to turn this matter over in your

minds. That great statesman, Mr. Chamberlain, after having arrived at the exalted position which he has held of watching over and leading the affairs of the Colonies of the Empire, did not hesitate to sacrifice that which most men would hold dear, but gave up salary and honour and everything, stepping down into the battle-field to fight for what he believed to be the salvation of the nation; as to whether we are to continue in our past state of prosperity, and if we are to hold our own in the future. It is something for a man who has turned seventy to exhibit such pluck, and to have such complete confidence in his views; but unfortunately in England with a vast population of inferiorly educated people the problem of educating the masses must necessarily be slow, and when Mr. Chamberlain originally launched his propaganda, and when I thought that such a programme as he placed before the public would be carried into effect almost immediately, because it bore on the face of it what I thought was common sense, he warned me that we could not expect to win in a rush.

He reminded me that it took Cobden a matter of five or six years to educate the people to what he believed to be best for the interests of the people. Mr. Cobden had a very easy task—simply to wipe out what was in existence. A stroke of the pen did it. It is a different thing altogether to commence and build up your foundations from the bottom. We are now, and have been for two years, engaged in framing a tariff. That tariff has to be framed in such a way that it will produce the greatest amount of good to the greatest number, and impose as little hardship as possible—if any hardship must be imposed—upon a small number of manufacturers, or upon the population at large. Now, Mr. Chamberlain, in his wide view of affairs, realizes the possibilities of Canada. He knows your great North-West territory, the home you have there for countless millions of people, awaiting the plough, awaiting to produce what we must have in the Old Country, what we must have at home and everywhere to feed our people, and he has said: "Let us treat our own kith and kin

somewhat better than our enemies." Let us endeavour to purchase from our relations in the Colonies what we cannot produce ourselves, namely, foodstuffs and raw material, and let us see if it is not possible to enter into some sort of bargain and some sort of arrangement with our Colonies, whereby they will be able to develop their great territories, to supply a large and increasing population, to build up comfortable homes for themselves, and thereby somewhat tend to lessen the congestion in the Old Country. And when you have sold your agricultural produce to the Mother-country, who is manufacturing, and who cannot produce enough for herself, his view is that you should, without in any way seeking to hamper or to penalize your manufacturers, take what you cannot produce yourselves, what you must necessarily purchase from the outside world, from the Old Country, instead of from Germany and other countries that close their markets against our British workmen, and seek by illegitimate means and scientific dumping to close our factories, and put our working classes on the streets.

It is a big policy that you have to consider, and it is conceived in no small spirit. It is done with a view to extend and strengthen the great British Empire which, as I have already said, has given to the world all its ideals that are worth having. The question is, are we to continue to lead the world, or are we to gradually follow the position of Spain and Holland, and sink to the place of a secondary power, gradually to become effete. You with your sturdy home blood running through your veins, a great deal of which is Scotch—and there is no better blood in the world—I quite agree with my friend, my father was born in Edinburgh—you have the material in you to overcome difficulties. You have cut down the timber of this country and carved out for yourselves a career in the face and in spite of enormous difficulties. And these difficulties, in my opinion, are things of the past. You are about to reap the reward of that great work of your forefathers. Canada is just now emerging from its cradle. It has

taken a long time for you to "get a move on," but you have, and in my humble opinion you are but at the commencement of your prosperity. If one could go out to your great North-West twenty years hence, I think one's hair would almost stand on end to see the changes that are bound to take place.

Let us see how far it is possible to support Mr. Chamberlain in future. You must necessarily import manufactured goods. You must necessarily, if your North-West is to develop on the lines in which I believe it must develop, have an enormous surplus to export. Where are you to send that surplus. The world closes its doors against you. There is only one market for you, as you all know, and that is Great Britain. Let us cherish that market to its utmost. Let us remember that if there is to be increased work for your manufacturers, if your land is to be taken up and put under the plough, with the exception of what you consume at home—and that will always be a small proportion, comparatively speaking, of the large production which will come from the North-West Territories—it is to the Old Country you must look for a market. And we desire in return to send you what you do not produce yourselves. That is Mr. Chamberlain's scheme in a nutshell. To a business man, to a man who is able to think, to a man who is able to size up the proposition as you can, if you realize your advantage in this country, and if you go to the Old Country and see the conditions there, it requires but very little consideration to know that such a scheme must bear fruit, must tend to the prosperity of the whole Empire, and to the help of both the Mother-country and of Canada. We have an up-hill fight to face in Great Britain. We meet with a mass of ignorance, a large amount of misrepresentation, I am sorry to say, by those who would seek to keep the workmen in bondage, I am afraid, not without advantage to themselves. We have to convince the masses that there is such a thing as bringing about a better understanding between the Colonies and the Mother-country.

The Colonies do not convey anything to them. It is

but a few years ago, as you all know, that they hardly conveyed anything to the British Cabinet. They spoke of letting the Colonies go, thought they were not worth retaining. Those days are past, but not, perhaps, to the man in the street, and it is only three years ago that I remember a gentleman who had spent five years in the House of Commons, representing the Labour party, asking the question when he landed in Montreal: "Is Canada any bigger than Yorkshire?" If that is from a Labour leader who has been five years in the House of Commons, what can you expect from the masses? It was only when he had been travelling two or three days, night and day, in the train and looked at the map, and found he had been nowhere, that he realized the extent of the Dominion.

I have to appeal to you on behalf of those who are fighting the battle that you shall send out a word of encouragement to the people in the Old Country who are taking upon themselves the brunt of the fight. As I have said, we have a long and difficult task, and I plead with you to have patience. It may possibly be a matter of years before we can carry out our programme, but come it must. All I hope is that it will come soon, in order that we may get prosperity, not for the classes, because they can take care of themselves, but for the masses of workers in England—and we must accomplish an improvement in the conditions of the masses, if the race is to maintain those virile qualities that it has possessed in the past. I plead for patience. I plead for help, and I trust that you will send forth at this Christmas-tide a word of encouragement to Mr. Chamberlain, seeing that you believe that he is on the right track, and that the work that he has undertaken will be crowned with success. He himself is confident, in a way that it is difficult to convey to you, that we must succeed. We shall succeed, and we look to all parts of the Empire to lend us a hand in the work we have undertaken.

LIEUT.-COLONEL G. T. DENISON.—I beg to move the

following Resolution: "That the Empire Club desires to express its strongest sympathy with Mr. Chamberlain in his earnest and unselfish efforts on behalf of the consolidation of the Empire, believing that the future welfare and prosperity of the Mother-country and the Colonies and their permanent union depend largely upon the success of the policy of Imperial Preferential trade."

MR. W. K. GEORGE, seconded the motion, which was carried with one dissenting voice.

MR. MOSELY.—It is always refreshing to know that there is a difference of opinion, even if it is only a minority of one. I addressed a meeting at Brantford the other evening, a fairly large and representative gathering, and there everyone, with one exception, was of the same opinion, and a vote of thanks was passed to me unanimously, but with this gentleman's proviso that he did not agree with what I had said. When it comes to a question of one out of several hundred, I can only say that I envy your position, and I wish we were in exactly the same position in England. We would not take long to carry out Mr. Chamberlain's programme. As a humble member of his Commission, allow me to thank the Club, Colonel Denison and Mr. George who have kindly proposed and seconded this Resolution, on behalf of our people at home who are working to carry out Mr. Chamberlain's proposal; and I need hardly say that such a demonstration coming from Toronto, which is one of the two greatest cities in Canada, will carry great weight with our people at home. I would ask that the Resolution be cabled to London, so that it can be published in the morning papers, and Mr. Chamberlain will know before he eats his Christmas dinner what is the feeling in Toronto in regard to his great proposals now before the country.



MR. GEORGE B. KIRKPATRICK.

Department of Surveys, Toronto.

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ASTOR, LENOX AND
TILDEN FOUNDATIONS

OUR NORTHERN HERITAGE.

Address by Mr. George B. Kirkpatrick, of the Ontario Crown Lands Department, before the Empire Club of Canada, on January 4th, 1906.

Mr. Chairman and Gentlemen,—

Before giving you a few facts of our Northern heritage in Ontario I thought it might not be amiss to brush up our memory on what the history of our heritage really is. No doubt many of you know better than I do about Canada, our beloved country, still, admitting that, permit me to give a short *resumé* of the beginnings of a country to which, perhaps, it is not too much to say that the eyes of the Old World are turned at present. It has been well said by Sir Wilfrid Laurier that the Nineteenth Century was the century of the United States of America, while the Twentieth Century is the century of the Dominion of Canada. How little Canada was thought of by our forefathers, British or French, in the early days, may be gathered from the expression of the French King who alluded to it as a few acres of snow.

The origin of the name even is involved in obscurity and the accounts of the different authorities vary considerable. One authority says: "An ancient Castilian tradition existed that the Spaniards visited these coasts before the French, and having perceived no appearance of mines or riches, they exclaimed frequently, 'Aca nada,' signifying 'here is nothing.' The natives caught up the sound, and when other Europeans arrived, repeated it to them. The strangers concluded that these words were a designation, and from that time it bore the name of Canada." Father Hennepin asserts that the Spaniards were the first discoverers of Canada and that, finding nothing there to gratify their desires for gold, they bestowed upon it the appellation of El Capo

di Nada, "Cape Nothing," whence, by corruption, its present name. Charlevoix, however, gives a different derivation, and supposed the name to have originated from the Indian word Kannata, signifying a collection of huts, which is most probably the true origin of the title since given to the whole country.

The honour of discovering that portion of North America afterwards called Canada is considered to belong to John and Sebastian Cabot, who, two years after the discoveries of Columbus become known in England, received a commission from Henry the Seventh to discover a north-west passage to the East Indies or China. In the year 1497 they sailed with six ships, and in June of the same year discovered the coast of Newfoundland. In the year 1534, Francis the First of France fitted out an expedition for the purpose of establishing a colony in the New World, the command of which was bestowed upon Jacques Cartier. Cartier sailed on the 20th April, 1534, to examine the northern shores of Newfoundland, and afterwards explored the Gulf of St. Lawrence, and entered a bay which, from the heat he experienced there, he named the "Bay of Chaleurs." Finally he landed on the shore of Gaspé Bay, where he erected a large cross with a shield bearing the arms of France.

Respecting the origin of the name Quebec, there appears to be quite as much uncertainty as with that of Canada. Charlevoix derives its origin from the Algonquin language, while La Potherie asserts it to have originated from an exclamation of the first discoverers under Cartier, who, on first seeing the promontory on which Quebec City now rests, raised an exclamation of "Quel bec." Ontario gets its name from Lake Ontario, the Indian O-no-ta-ri-io. It means handsome lake. On a French map of 1688 Lake Ontario is called Skaniadono. On the 18th September, 1759, the Articles of Capitulation were signed by M. de Ramezay, on the one side, and Admiral Saunders and General Townshend on the other. On the 8th September, 1760, the Articles of Capitulation between their Excellencies Major-General Amherst, Commander-in-Chief of His Britannic Ma-

jesty's troops and forces in North America, on the one part, and the Marquis de Vaudreuil, etc., Governor and Lieutenant-General for the French King in Canada, on the other. The fourth article of the Definitive Treaty of Peace concluded between the Kings of Great Britain and France, on the 10th day of February, in the year 1763, contained the Cession of Canada to the Crown of Great Britain.

A Proclamation, dated at St. James, 7th October, 1763, provided for the four distinct and separate governments styled and called by the names of Quebec, East Florida, West Florida and Grenada. The Constitutional Act, 31 George 3rd, Cap. 31, dividing the Province of Quebec into two distinct Provinces of Lower and Upper Canada, was proclaimed on the 18th November, 1791, and Col. John Graves Simcoe was appointed Lieutenant-Governor of Upper Canada on the 8th July, 1792. By Proclamation, dated 24th July, 1788, signed by Lord Dorchester, it was stated that whereas the Province of Quebec stood at present divided into only two districts, that several new districts should be formed, namely, Lunenburg, bounded westerly by a north and south line intersecting the mouth of the River Gananoque, then called the Thames; Mecklenburg, extending as far west as to a north and south line intersecting the mouth of the River Trent; Nassau, extending westerly to a north and south line intersecting the extreme projection of Long Point within Lake Erie; and Hesse, comprehending all the residue of the Province in the western or inland parts thereof, of the entire breadth thereof, from the southerly to the northerly boundary of the same.

By 32nd George 3rd, 1792, chapter 8, these Districts were called the Eastern, Midland, Home and Western. By Proclamation of Lieutenant-Governor Simcoe, dated July 16th, 1792, the Province of Upper Canada, under the authority of British Statutes 31st George 3rd, chapter 31, section 14, was divided into nineteen counties, namely, Glengarry, Stormont, Dundas, Grenville, Leeds, Frontenac, Ontario, Addington, Lennox, Prince Edward,

Hastings, Northumberland, Durham, York, Lincoln, Norfolk, Suffolk, Essex, Kent. The last-named county was to comprehend all the country, not being territories of the Indians and not already included in the several counties before described, extending northward to the boundary line of the Hudson's Bay, including the territory to the westward and southward of the said line to the utmost extent of the country commonly called or known by the name of Canada.

By chapter 4, 38th George 3rd, 1798, and by Proclamation, dated July 1st, 1800, the Province of Upper Canada was divided into Districts, namely, the Eastern District, the District of Johnstown the Midland District, the District of Niagara, the District of London, the Western District. In the 2nd Session of the Third Provincial Parliament, 42nd George 3rd, the Counties of Northumberland and Durham were declared to be a separate District to be called the District of Newcastle. By the 5th Session of the Sixth Provincial Parliament in the 56th year George 3rd, 1816, the Counties of Prescott and Russell were established a new District called the District of Ottawa. In the Sixth Parliament, 56th year George 3rd, 1816, a new District was formed out of part of the Home and Niagara Districts, called the District of Gore. In the Third Session of the 8th Provincial Parliament, 4th George 4th, 1823, the County of Carleton was declared the District of Bathurst. In 1849, 12th Victoria, chapter 78, an Act was passed abolishing the territorial division of Upper Canada into districts and providing for counties and unions of counties. Since then several new counties have been formed and old counties divided as circumstances required. The date of the re-union of Upper and Lower Canada is 3rd and 4th Victoria, chapter 35, Proclamation, dated February 5th, 1841. In 1841 the Municipal Act was passed and in 1849 an amending Act was passed giving municipal institutions as we have them to-day. In more recent years the Districts of "New" Ontario were created.

In December, 1899, the then Premier of Ontario, the

Hon. George W. Ross, directed me to prepare a scheme of exploration in the northern parts of the Districts of Nipissing, Algoma, Thunder Bay and Rainy River. I did so, and recommended that parties, each under the charge of an experienced Ontario Land Surveyor, be sent out in the Spring of 1900, to gather the following information:

- (a) The nature of the soil.
- (b) The nature, extent, size and quality of the timber.
- (c) The fixed rocks met with and economic minerals.
- (d) The general features of the country obtained by a track survey of the water communications, etc.

(e) Any valuable water-power, giving the estimated fall and describing the nature of the banks on either side.

My Memorandum being approved of by the Ministry, and the money having been voted by the Legislature (\$40,000), instructions were prepared for ten parties to take the field as soon as practicable. An experienced land and timber estimator and a geologist accompanied each party. I need not describe how the territory was divided up among the ten survey parties, nor need I detain you with an account of the detailed instructions given nor with their equipment; are they not all written in the books of the Chronicles of the Department of Lands and Mines? Suffice it to say that before the snow fell in the winter of 1900 all the exploration parties had returned without mishap. Their reports were duly laid before the Legislature, and I am glad to say the results of these extensive explorations fully justified the most sanguine expectations in regard to the natural wealth and fertility of Northern Ontario and demonstrated the wisdom of the action taken on the part of the Government and Legislature—the total cost of such exploration amounting to \$40,518.

Now what have been some of the results of the above exploration? A great city belt comprising an area of at least sixteen million acres was discovered, nearly all of which is well adapted for cultivation. This almost unbroken stretch of good farming land was equal in size

to the twenty-two counties of Old Ontario lying west of the County of York, or a line drawn from Toronto to Midland, which portion of Ontario was shown to be inhabited at the last Census by a population of one million eighty-one thousand people. This clay belt was found to cover an area as large as the States of Massachusetts, Connecticut, Rhode Island, New Jersey and Delaware combined, and about half the size of the State of New York, or about the size of one-half of England. It was found to be remarkably well-watered by numerous rivers, the principal of these being the Moose River flowing into James Bay, and its tributaries, the Abitibi, Metagami, Missanabie, and the Albany River with its tributaries, the Kenogami and Ogoki. Including all areas of good agricultural land in what is called New Ontario there were found to be at least twenty million acres, or one hundred and twenty-five thousand farms of one hundred and sixty acres, capable of supporting a population of over one million people.

The climate, which is the necessary accompaniment of any lasting colonization, has been found to present no obstacle to successful settlement. The information obtained by the exploration parties completely dispelled the erroneous impression that its winters are of Arctic severity and its summers too short to enable crops to mature. The vegetables found growing at the Hudson's Bay Company posts were a living proof of the possibility of successful agriculture; even at Albany Post on James Bay, the potato tops were green on the 25th September. On October 3rd of the year 1900, the garden produce had not yet been removed for the winter at Albany Post—tomatoes, cucumbers and all other vegetables being grown there. Only two nights of frost were observed up to the 28th day of October. The Director of the Geological Survey of Canada informed me lately that he had for several successive years sent wheat to some of the Hudson's Bay posts in Northern Ontario, and that in each case the wheat ripened successfully.

Up to this date the Department of Lands and Mines

has sub-divided sixty townships of thirty-six square miles each into lots for settlement, besides several hundred miles of base and meridian lines prior to further sub-division. Some of the townships subdivided have been reported to be absolutely all good land, not one acre being unfit for settlement; a thing unparalleled in the history of townships in this country. So much for the land; what of the timber growing thereon? From careful estimates made it has been found that there is still in the Crown lands, unsold, white and red pine which will produce at least six billion feet board measure, which at present prices would involve a cash value of not less than forty-two million dollars. If invested at three per cent. this would net the Province an annual income of one million two hundred and sixty thousand dollars. It was found also that extensive forests of spruce, jack pine and poplar existed, estimated to contain at least three hundred million cords of pulpwood, which at 40 cents per cord, amounts to one hundred and twenty million dollars. If invested at three per cent. this would give to the Province an annual income of three million six hundred thousand dollars for all time to come.

From a very conservative estimate of the annual growth of pulpwood it is found that it amounts to no less than six million cords, sufficient to employ two hundred pulp mills, capable of employing at least one hundred thousand men. The Department of Lands and Mines has at the present time a very efficient band of fire rangers and since this Branch of the Department has been started very few fires have obtained any great headway. In the early days of lumbering in this Province of Ontario it may be said that at least one-third of the pine forests were destroyed by uncontrolled fire; and as the system of fire ranging is being improved from time to time we may expect better results even than at the present. The late Government and the present Government, recognizing the value of forest reserves, have established the following as forest reserves:

The Algonquin National Park	1,930	sqr. miles
The Mississaga Forest Reserve	3,000	" "
The Nepigon Forest Reserve	7,300	" "
The Township of Sibley on Thunder Cape	70	" "
Temagami Forest Reserve	5,900	" "
The Eastern Forest Reserve in the County of Addington	125	" "
Total	18,325	sqr. miles

As regards the mineral wealth of Northern Ontario the nickel deposits in the Sudbury District have been found to be practically inexhaustible. As regards the cobalt nickel arsenides and silver deposits of Temiskaming, I am indebted to the Report of Prof. W. G. Miller, the Provincial Geologist, for some interesting facts concerning this portion of the Province. He states that what is known as the Archæan protaxis, or that rugged, rocky region which stretches away from the St. Lawrence River, expanding to the north-westward, and occupying a large part of Northern Ontario, has produced and is constantly producing, a group of what may be called unique, or at least comparatively rare, economic minerals. Probably as great a variety of minerals is produced here in proportion to the number of inhabitants as is derived from any other country.

Among these economic deposits are the nickel mines of Sudbury, which is one of the two important nickel-producing localities of the world, with the by-products, platinum and palladium; the corundum deposits of North Hastings, South Renfrew, and other areas in Eastern Ontario, which now supplies by far the greater part of the corundum consumed in the world; the unsurpassed feldspar and mica deposits of Frontenac and adjoining counties, and the apatite, graphite, pyrite, talc, gold, copper, zinc, lead, fluorite and barite of the same district; the iron ranges, which extend over a great territory, in Northern and North-Western Ontario, but which, up to the present, have not been developed to a great extent.

In addition to these, it may be said that a few years ago North Hastings possessed the only arsenic plant in

North America. More recently the auriferous-arsenic ores of Temagami were made known, and lastly a discovery has been made of the series of cobalt nickel arsenides and silver, which are unique, so far as known, on this continent, and are paralleled by deposits only in Saxony and adjacent regions of continental Europe. These ore bodies, which carry values in silver, cobalt, nickel and arsenic, were discovered during the building of the Temiskaming and Northern Ontario Railway. In fact, it may be said that the railway discovered the deposits, as it runs almost over the top of what is probably the most important vein yet found. (Here it may be added as a curious coincidence that the building of the Canadian Pacific Railway was virtually the discovery of the celebrated Sudbury nickel deposits). The finding of such rich ore within a short distance of the shore of Lake Temiskaming, a stretch of water which has been a well-travelled route to the north by white men for two hundred years or more, and the fact of the deposits being only about four miles from the town of Haileybury, show the possibilities there are for the discovery of important mineral-bearing areas in the vast hinterland of Ontario—much of which is little known.

The chief of these bodies which have been worked lie within half a mile of what is now known as Cobalt Station, distant by rail about 103 miles from North Bay Junction on the transcontinental line of the Canadian Pacific and 330 miles almost north of the City of Toronto. Some of these veins in the vicinity of Cobalt Station were noticed by the men employed in railway construction in the spring of 1903, but little interest was aroused and nothing was heard of the discovery by prospectors till October of the same year, when Prof. Miller was sent by the Bureau of Mines to examine the territory. The name Cobalt appears to come from the German "Kobold," meaning goblin or house spirit. The metal was so called by the miners because its ore, being arsenious, was poisonous and difficult to treat. Mr. Miller felt, however, when he suggested the name for the town, that in this age such a name would not

be considered unlucky. The first report of his examination of this Cobalt silver area was published in November, 1903, and the public evinced little interest in the field until about eighteen months afterwards, when reports were made of shipments from various properties.

Mr. Miller informs me that a few months ago two and a half million dollars worth of silver had been shipped, while another million dollars worth was on the dump. This it will be seen is a wonderful showing when it is recollected that from the little Silver Islet on Lake Superior three and a half millions was the amount taken out, and that it created a great excitement in mining circles at that time. There are about eighteen companies working in the vicinity of Cobalt, within an area of eight or nine square miles in the immediate vicinity of the station. Finds have been made thirty miles north and twelve miles west, so that it is altogether probable that rich deposits exist in outlying districts. It may be remembered, moreover, that the country is practically a virgin forest, in which prospecting must in any case be slow. The Bureau of Mines, through the courtesy of Mr. W. G. Tretheway, obtained a specimen for preservation in its collection of the richer ore from his vein on location J B 7. This sample weighs 79 pounds. Drillings obtained by boring into the sample show it to have the following composition:

	Per cent.		Per cent.
Silver	66.67	Antimony	9.67
Cobalt.....	2.15	Sulphur	.22
Nickel	.41	Calcium carbonate	6.72
Iron	1.60	Magnesium carbonate..	1.23
Arsenic	7.03	Insoluble.....	3.99

The value of the silver in this 79 pound sample at present market prices is \$451.16. The Geological Survey Department at Ottawa has another sample in its collection valued at over \$1,400.00, and there are still larger blocks at the mines at the present day. I was at Cobalt myself in August, 1904, and saw with my own eyes the wonderful productions that were then to be seen. I saw a nugget at the Leroy Mine weighing 200

pounds and several other nuggets of the same size have since been taken out at different mines. I saw the native silver in sheets clinging to the sides of the rock. I picked up samples of native silver in the clefts of the rocks in many places, and yet when I came back to Toronto and showed some of the specimens and told people of the richness, they were unmoved, thinking it could not be possible that such richness existed in this Province. I am old enough to remember that each time fresh discoveries of the mineral wealth of Ontario have been made people have rather "pooh-poohed" the idea. I have seen myself, in years past, several places in the District of Rainy River where rock broken off before my own eyes and ground in a mortar and then panned has shown gold at every panning, and this over a width of one hundred feet and the vein extending, as I was told, over four miles. That, of course, I cannot vouch for myself, but the mine is yet in existence, and I have not the slightest doubt will be a paying mine some day.

As regards the iron industry, there have been many discoveries made in different parts of the Province, and although at the present time they are not being extensively worked, sufficient has been shown to prove that this Province contains valuable deposits of the most valuable metal in the world. The Helen Mine near Michipicoten is the most important producing one at present. Then there are well known deposits in the Atikokan region in the Thunder Bay District, and there are other valuable deposits in the Township of Hutton, in the District of Nipissing, and also on Loon Lake, north shore of Lake Superior. Mr. Gibson, the Director of the Bureau of Mines, informs me that the output of nickel this year is double that of last year, and that Ontario nickel and cobalt have taken the place formerly held by New Caledonia, the only other place in the world where these minerals are worked. Many of you, no doubt, remember the exhibition of Ontario minerals furnished by the Bureau of Mines at the Pan-American Exposition held at Buffalo in 1901. Twenty-one awards were made to the Ontario Exhibit, viz., three gold

medals, seven silver medals, six bronze medals, and five "honourable mentions," a larger number than the Exhibit of any other State or country, save Mexico, received.

At the Louisiana Purchase Exposition held at St. Louis in 1904, Ontario won under the heading "Mines" two grand prizes, twelve gold medals, eight silver medals, and five bronze medals; under the heading "Agriculture," six gold medals, eight silver medals, two bronze medals and three diplomas. The total awards of the Dominion of Canada being one hundred and eleven and Ontario carrying off forty-six of these. The amount of prize money won by Canadian competitors for live stock was \$20,512, which the Dominion Government supplemented by a similar sum. At the Pan-American Exposition in 1901 under the heads of "Cattle, sheep, swine, horses and poultry," Ontario won prizes to the amount of \$5,979, as against the whole United States total of \$7,956. I am indebted to the Bureau of Industries for the following interesting statement, showing the present condition of the agricultural developments of the Province of Ontario.

Number of farms in Ontario (approximately)...	175,000
Value of farms in Ontario.....	\$1,160,000,000
Net products for Ontario farms for 1904....	183,400,000

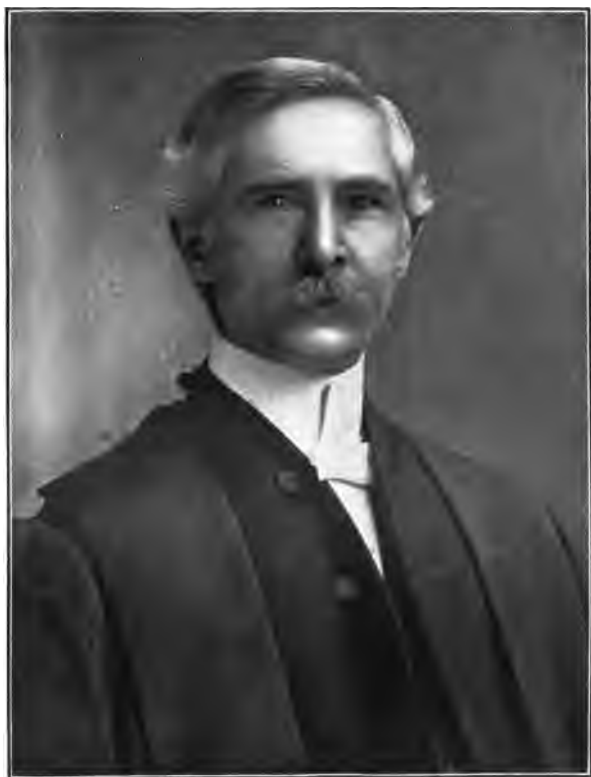
That we are on the eve of still greater development is shown by the fact of the advance of railways into Northern Ontario. The Temiskaming and Northern Railway under the Railway Commission has its first section in good running order, being the 115 miles from North Bay to New Liskeard at the head of Lake Temiskaming. It has been in operation not quite a twelve-month, and the Provincial Treasurer received a cheque for \$100,000 a few days ago as representing the net earnings of the railway for that period. North of New Liskeard a section of 100 miles is now under construction, and the steel has been laid for 40 miles of it. It is intended to extend the railway to a junction with the Grand Trunk Pacific, which I understand has located

its line definitely north of Lake Abitibi, and which will run through the clay belt before mentioned. What I have said will, I hope, induce many of my hearers to take a trip through some part of Northern Ontario. They will be well repaid even if they only go as far as Lake Temagami with its 1,259 islands, with the beautiful Lady Evelyn Lake, and others too numerous to mention. I could tell you fish stories without end, but instead, I say, go and see for yourselves. People from the United States take longer summer holidays than we can manage, and they are taking trips there in increasing numbers every year, and are enthusiastic on the subject. They appear to agree on one point, viz., that they have nothing like it on their side of the line.

And now that I have told you of a few of the good points of our northern country, let me beg of you one and all to be optimists rather than pessimists as to the future. We all know that waves of depression pass over all countries at times, but that invariably the good times come again. The most curious instance of despair that I have met with in my study took place in 1839, when, as stated in a report by Mr. William Spragge, wherein he combatted the idea very strongly, the opinion was largely held that a total absorption of land rights under the Upper Canada Land Act, in the payment of lands offered for sale, would speedily take place, and business then be at an end in the Surveyor-General's office—the lands still disposable being so trifling in amount and indifferent in quality as to render it improbable that any new settlements of consequence would be formed with advantage. Mr. Spragge went on to point out that beyond the limits of our present surveys, fertile lands existed and presented a future field for enterprise. He advocated an immigration policy and inducements to such as desired to settle on and cultivate the public lands, and wound up by stating his belief that until extensive alterations were adopted, the resources of the country could be but partially developed and our rear country continue a wilderness and the sons of many

of our most enterprising farmers, as they arrived at manhood, continue to emigrate to the United States.

This was penned 65 years ago, and shows what a lamentable state of ignorance prevailed among people generally as to the value of their great heritage. We can have no excuse nowadays for such a view, and if I have aided in any way in enlarging the vision of any of my hearers I shall be amply repaid. Remember, gentlemen, that what we want Canada to be to-day and in future is a nation of honest, true, temperate, God-fearing, united, and I need hardly say, last but not least, loyal men and women, loving their country, respecting each other's views, living in harmony, and having for their motto the words of the wise man, "Righteousness exalteth a nation, but sin is a reproach to any people."



THE HON. R. F. SUTHERLAND, K.C., M.P.
Speaker of the House of Commons.

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DEVELOPMENT OF THE IMPERIAL IDEA.

Address by the Hon. R. F. Sutherland, K.C., M.P., Speaker of the Canadian House of Commons, before the Empire Club of Canada, on January 11th, 1906.

Mr. President and Gentlemen,—

In the constituency of North Essex, which I represent in the Canadian House of Commons, we are rather more familiar with a Club manufactured at Walkerville, therein known as "Canadian Club," and which in view of your recent vote on license reduction some of you may already have heard of, than with the Empire Club, a portion of whose members I have the privilege and pleasure of addressing at the present time.

It is said that the celebrated French artist Vernet was once travelling by rail from Versailles to Paris and in the same compartment with him were two ladies to whom he was apparently known by sight. At all events by their looks and actions they made themselves extremely annoying to him and he devised a plan to disconcert them. Suddenly the train rushed into the dense darkness of the St. Cloud Tunnel and the artist, raising his hand, gave it a resounding kiss and awaited the *denouement*. On the train emerging into the daylight the scene appeared suddenly changed. The ladies, who had been sitting close to each other, were now sitting at the opposite ends of the compartment and each eyeing the other with surprise, suspicion and apparent horror. The situation remained unaltered until their arrival at Paris. Thereupon the artist prepared to leave the compartment and raising his hat as he passed out said: "Ladies, I shall always be puzzled to know which of you kissed me in the tunnel."

Now his difficulty was undoubtedly an assumed one, while mine on accepting the invitation to speak to you at one of your interesting functions and in casting about for a congenial and appropriate topic was genuine.

Now, let me say at once, that there were in the earlier history of your Club many suitable themes, but on looking these over I found the field fully and capably covered. I see that the objects of your Club are the advancement of the interests of Canada and a united Empire and, I think, that the best results in this direction can be obtained, first, by mutual respect between the people of the Mother-land and Canada and, next, by increased intercourse between and information of each other.

Emerson said that "the secret of education lies in respecting the pupil," and, I think, a mutual respect between teacher and taught would be better. It will not do for the men in the Mother-land to look down upon Canadians as mere colonials and consequently a little inferior, nor for our public men to regard those of Great Britain as antiquated and slow—in a land which has produced such gifted men as she has. The very best course to produce a united and progressive Empire is for the people of the Mother-land to recognize the progress in culture and self-governing capacity that Canada has made during recent years and the important factor which she and the other Colonies are commencing to be when the Mother-country is negotiating with foreign countries; and on the other hand for Canadians to realize the benefits of the past, and the present and prospective value of being associated with the Mother-land. Let Canada leave the Empire to-morrow and the Empire would be weaker, but the future of Canada precarious and uncertain indeed. I was reading a year or so ago the biography of that great Irish lawyer, judge and statesman, Lord Russell of Killowen, and in doing so I came across a verse which no doubt was intended to apply to Great Britain and Ireland and their relationship, but which also is equally applicable to Canada and the two great races which form our population. It was this:

No matter that at different shrines
They prayed unto one God,
No matter that at different times
Their fathers won the sod ;

In fortune and in fame they're bound
In stronger links than steel,
And neither could be safe nor sound
But in the other's weal.

That sentiment in the closing lines is similar to that I expressed a moment ago as applied to Britain and her Colonies. Neither can, as things are at present, be as safe or sound save in the other's weal, and those who seek to impress this thought here and elsewhere throughout the Empire are promoting its unity and perpetuation and furthering the object for which this Empire Club came into existence. Now while sentiments like these are pretty prevalent at the present time it was not always so. There have been Imperial statesmen, intelligent men, in the Old Country who seemed to have a perview of the possibilities and importance of Canada, but there were others who were perfectly dense as to these. It is equally true there have been Canadians who lightly prized British connection. Our best and greatest of both political parties have, however, appreciated it at its true worth. I shall not at present speak of the divergent views of our own people. I shall endeavour to point out that up to a certain date there was in the Old Country a feeling that the Colonies were not a matter of much importance to the Mother-land, but were a menace and danger in certain directions; but there occurred a change of view at one time which has gradually increased until now there are very few in the Old Country who do not rejoice in the connection of the British Empire.

In December of the year 1875, the Earl of Derby, speaking on general politics in Edinburgh, used these words: "There has been a change in regard to Colonial policy within the last twenty-five years which is little less than extraordinary. When I entered Parliament in 1849 and for years afterwards a member who should have laid stress on the importance of keeping up the connection between the Colonies and the Mother-country would have been set down by advanced thinkers as holding respectable but old-fashioned and obsolete ideas. The doctrine most in favour was that a Colonial Empire added nothing to real strength, involved needless ex-

pense, and increased the liability to war. Now everybody is for holding on to the Colonies which we have got and a good many people seem to be in favour of finding new ones."

In the same address Lord Derby referred to having read with admiration and enjoyment the excellent speech lately delivered by the Rt. Hon. Wm. E. Forster, on "Our Relations with the Colonies." This Imperial Federation address of Mr. Forster, delivered also in Edinburgh earlier in the same year before the Philosophical Institution, has been considered by Sir T. Wemyss Reid, his biographer, as "marking the beginning of a movement which has since attained such large proportions." Now whether it be true or not that in that speech Mr. Forster initiated the movement which resulted in changing the view which British statesmen had, undoubtedly the speech helped along the movement in that direction. Let me quote to you a few of the words which Mr. Forster himself used. "I believe that our union with our Colonies will not be severed because I believe that we and they will more and more prize this union and become convinced that it can only be preserved by looking forward to association on equal terms. In other words, I believe that our Colonial Empire will last because, no longer striving to rule our Colonies as dependencies when they become strong enough to become independent, we shall welcome them as our partners in a common and mighty Empire." Again he says: "Who talks now of casting off the Colonies? What more popular cry at present than the preservation of our Colonial Empire?"

Now it will appear from these things down to about 1875—perhaps not exactly that date, for perhaps the influence had been at work prior to that date—but about that time it came to be recognized that there was a turn in the opposite direction and at this time they seemed to be gradually going towards the idea that the Colonies were a most important asset which Britain should hold on to. It is little wonder when we look back upon the history of this country—and in this address I intend to

refer almost entirely to Canada—that the statesmen of the Old Country were for a time dubious about the Colonial connection or its expediency. It must be remembered that Canada had given the British Government a good deal of worry. There were the agitations in 1846 over the withdrawal of our preference in the English markets under the Tariff Act of 1843. Tariff matters seem still a fruitful subject of discussion if not of agitation. There was the burning of the Parliament Buildings in Montreal in 1849; the Annexation manifestoes and other petulant proceedings; the clamour for self-government; the dissensions and difficulties prior to Confederation. Even that great boon to Canada was looked upon by many in the Old Land with doubt and distrust, as indeed but a stepping-stone to complete political independence. Can we be very much surprised then to find that even such an important Imperial statesman as Disraeli, in 1852, writing to Lord Malmesbury, should say, "Those wretched Colonies will be independent, too, in a few years and are a mill-stone round our necks." There was a general impression about 1870 that members of Mr. Gladstone's Government were quite willing to allow the Colonies to drift away. In this year Lord Granville wrote to Lord John Russell, that he was of opinion that "the British North America Colonies would become independent." In 1873 the *Times* newspaper told us that "the days of our apprenticeship were over and that we ought to be able to go alone." Lord Derby seems, therefore, justified, in 1875, in saying what he did about former views, and Mr. Forster did a worthy act in commencing or continuing a movement to set the current flowing in the opposite direction. From this point on the course is clear. British opinion, official and non-official, has changed. Now there are few, if any, who care to be "Little Englanders." We are glad that this has come about. May I venture to point some of the reasons in part responsible for the change.

By guaranteeing cherished rights, protecting minorities, promoting unity and a common national aspiration,

and granting and assuring wider self-government, the Confederation Act removed most of the irritating causes on which Old Country men looked with dismay and despair, as well as the statesmen of our own country. In the second place, the acquisition of the North-West and the bringing of Manitoba, Prince Edward Island and British Columbia into Confederation—Manitoba in 1870, Prince Edward Island in 1873 and British Columbia in 1871—gave a breadth and consolidation to the Dominion which appealed as well to the imagination as to the judgment of Imperial statesmen. This must now be intensified by what happened last year when we added those two great new Provinces of Alberta and Saskatchewan to the Confederation.

In the third place I would point to the construction of the Canadian Pacific Railway. This was looked upon as a great Imperial link in the chain of Empire, and if that is so then the construction of the Grand Trunk Pacific will also enhance that view. A great statesman had much to do with the construction of the Canadian Pacific Railway and another great statesman had much to do with the initiation of the Grand Trunk Pacific scheme. Then the assistance of Canada to Great Britain in her wars, first in a small way in 1885 and in a larger and more glorious fashion in 1899; Canadian soldiers as truly helped to cement the Empire and enhance its prestige at Paardeburg as Nelson did at Trafalgar.

Then I point out as one of these elements the educational influence and work of our Governors-General which they were able to bring upon those in public life in the Old Land when they returned home from Canada. Prior to Confederation the names of two Governors will always be remembered with gratitude and admiration by all patriotic Canadians. However, some of the Governors did not always realize their duties. Lord Lytton once set forth the duties of the Governor of a Colony in these words: "Remember that the first care of a Governor in a free Colony is to shun the reproach of being a party man, give all parties and all ministries formed the fairest play. After all, men are governed as

much by the heart as by the head. Evident sympathy in the progress of the Colony, traits of generosity, kindness, devoted energy where required for the public weal, a pure exercise of patronage, an utter absence of vindictiveness or spite, the fairness that belongs to magnanimity, these are qualities that make Governors powerful, while men merely sharp and clever may be weak and detested."

Now, our experience with our Governors-General has been a varied one. So far as Lords Durham and Elgin are concerned little can be said of them that is not complimentary. Each in his own way did much to educate the people of the Old Land in right views as to Colonial Government. In a short work entitled, "A Short History of British Colonial Government," by H. E. Egerton, it says of Lord Durham: "The earliest and ablest advocate among British statesmen of full responsible government was Lord Durham, through every page of whose famous Report there breathes a passion of Imperial patriotism, strange enough at the time." And he also says: "It is hardly too much to say that this Report is the most valuable document in the English language on the subject of Colonial policy." In passing may I just say that this Report is often said to have been the commencement of a successful Colonial policy.

As to Lord Elgin his aim can be seen in the significant words he wrote in 1850 to Lord Grey: "To render Annexation by violence impossible, or by any other means improbable as may be, is, as I have often ventured to repeat, the polar star of my policy." His views were in line with Lord Durham's. His theory, as Bourinot points out in his biography of this great man, was to remove any feeling of discontent, "by granting to Canadians what they desired, the great principle of self-government."

No one saw in a clearer light or more beautifully depicted the future beauty and greatness of Canada than Lord Dufferin, or more heartily strove to impress these upon the attention of people in the Old Land. Listen to one familiar and fanciful but beautiful

There is no voter, however humble, in England, Scotland, Ireland and Wales but has a voice through his vote in the affairs of the British Empire, but there is no Canadian, however eminent, who has such a voice, and the British statesmen who ask and urge Canada to participate in the maintenance of the British Army or Navy do not seem to see how sensitive Canadians are to the expenditure of their money under such conditions. The Canadian, on the other hand, realizing that his British citizenship is, shall I say, an incomplete one, is resolute to ask a wide control of the government of Canada, seeing as he does in this a complete citizenship which appeals to his national pride. It is to reconcile such views and to devise, under such circumstances, plans to unite and strengthen the Empire that is the subject of anxious thought of patriotic men here and at home. While there is a sense in which the people of the Old Land must have wondered at our views, we rejoice in being citizens of this splendid Empire. It is an extraordinary Empire, when we come to think of it, ruling about one-quarter of the surface of the globe and about one-third of the combined trade of the world, an Empire that sends a Viceroy to India and a Governor-General to Canada and another one to South Africa and so on. Yet as I say the people of the Mother-land must not wonder that we look upon Canadian citizenship as a citizenship very broad and very free and altogether a complete citizenship which we do not find in the British citizenship.

In the many addresses already delivered before this Club, some of which I have had the privilege to read, there is a constant and refreshing reminder of the spirit of our fathers, the heritage of fame and glory which as citizens of the Empire we possess on land and sea, at home and abroad, in remote and in recent times. It is by such reminders that we and our children are inspired to continue the good work of consolidating and strengthening the Empire. We have lately been celebrating the glorious deeds of Nelson and among the most apt and inspiring things I have seen in this connection is the

cartoon, and yet not a cartoon, a historic picture rather, appearing in *Punch*. Lord Nelson is depicted as standing on a rocky bluff jutting out into the ocean. He is an heroic figure with his Admiral's uniform and cocked hat, naval cloak and telescope. As he looks upon that ocean he loved to traverse he sees on its bosom not the wooden walls of his day but the ironclads of to-day, and to which he is represented as saying: "My ships are gone, but the spirit of my men remains." Many of our great historical patriotic Canadians who assisted at Confederation have passed away and gone, but their spirit remains in the public men of Canada to-day and will, if remembered and perpetuated, assist us to fulfil the prediction of our own Canadian poetess when she said:

So in the long hereafter
This Canada shall be
The worthy heir of British power
And British liberty ;
Spreading the blessings of her sway
To earth's remotest bounds,
While with the fame of her fair name
A Continent resounds,
True to her high traditions,
To Britain's ancient glory,
Of patient Saint and Martyr,
Alive in deathless story ;
Strong in their liberty and truth
To shed from shore to shore
A light among the nations,
Till nations are no more.

OUR NATIONAL ASPIRATIONS.

Address by the Rev. Dr. E. D. McLaren, General Secretary of the Presbyterian Church in Canada, before the Empire Club of Canada, on Thursday, January 18th, 1906.

Mr. Chairman and Gentlemen,—

Without national aspirations there can be no worthy, progressive national life. Self-respect and a certain measure of self-confidence are essential to the success of a nation as well as of an individual. One of the most gratifying features of our Canadian life during the last quarter of a century has been the steady growth of a spirit of Canadian nationality—an ever-widening appreciation of the marvellous capabilities of this vast new land, an ever-deepening conviction that Canada has an important part to play in the development of the life of the world at large. And this conviction is not begotten of a foolish, groundless pride; our great expectations in regard to our country's future rest upon the most substantial basis. Consider, for example, our vast extent of territory. Our national inheritance is so immense that it is only by instituting comparisons that we can form any adequate conception of its immensity. Here is an illustration used some years ago by a writer in the United States, which I have been obliged to modify somewhat in order that it may represent correctly our greater Canadian commonwealth. Take six of the larger kingdoms of Europe—the British Isles, France, Germany, Austria, Spain and Italy; add to them four of the smaller kingdoms—Denmark, Switzerland, Portugal and Greece; imagine these ten kingdoms consolidated into one mighty empire; and then glory in your Canadian heritage as you reflect that you could lay that empire down *one, two, three* times in the Dominion of Canada and still have enough of land remaining to form two Norways and two Swedens. Another comparison—for

which I am indebted to a Canadian writer—dealing only with a single province, may be of additional assistance to us in our efforts to realize the magnitude of our inheritance. Out of British Columbia alone you could carve two Englands, three Irelands and four Scotlands; and there would still be left on your hands sufficient territory to make half a dozen of the petty principalities of Central Europe. If superficial area counts for anything at all, Canadians have surely abundant ground for asserting that they are citizens of no mean country.

Think, too, of our indescribably grand scenery, of majestic mountains, stately rivers, noble lakes and wild, primeval forests; and of the important mental and physical qualities that our material environment naturally tends to develop and strengthen. We have all heard of the glorious scenery of the Alps; I wonder how many Canadians ever stop to think that they can travel for thirty hours in Canadian territory and during every moment of that day and a quarter of railway travelling be in the very midst of Alpine grandeur. Switzerland! Why, you could hide the whole of Switzerland in one little corner of British Columbia's wonderful "sea of mountains."

Consider, further, the bewildering magnitude of our material resources. Recognizing the impropriety of a clergyman being concerned, even indirectly, in the working up of a mining boom, I will make but one remark in regard to the mineral wealth of Canada; but that remark is so staggering that I would like to give you my authority for it. On Dominion Day of last year the *Winnipeg Free Press* stated that the coal-beds of the Crow's Nest Pass are estimated to contain coal enough to last for 5,000 years if mined at the rate of 4,000,000 tons a year. You may throw off 90 per cent. of those figures for exaggeration—a fairly liberal discount even in the case of a western yarn—and there will still be left an annual output of four million tons for 500 years.

But the safest mine a man can invest his money in is the productive soil, yielding in perpetuity its annual harvests of rich golden grain. The agricultural re-

sources of Western Canada are almost inconceivable. The wheat crop of Manitoba, Assiniboia, Saskatchewan and Alberta in 1904 amounted to 60,000,000 bushels. The total area under cultivation that year—not devoted to wheat alone, but to oats, barley, rye, flax and roots as well—was only a very little more than 5,000,000 acres. Dr. Saunders, Director of Government Experimental Farms, has stated that the arable land in the four districts I have mentioned amounts to 171,000,000 acres—thirty-four times as much as was under crop a year ago last summer. Thirty-four times 60,000,000 is 2,040,000,000. Those astounding figures mean that if all the available land, even in that portion of the North-West, were brought under cultivation, we would be able to supply the wheat markets of Great Britain ten times over, and still have 40,000,000 bushels left for home consumption. Surely it is a glorious land—this land of the Maple Leaf—vast in its extent, vast in its resources, vast in its inspiring possibilities; throbbing, too, as no other new land has ever throbbed, with a rich complex life, the product of the thought and the toil of a thousand years; for, let us never forget:

We, too, are heirs of Runnymede,
And Shakespeare's fame and Cromwell's deed
Are not alone our mother's.

Having such a magnificent heritage, it is inevitable that we should cherish high expectations of our country's future. Fancy, fired with patriotic fervour, conjures up before our mental vision pleasing pictures of the glory of the coming years. We sweep, with delighted gaze, our broad and fertile plains, covered with the homes of millions of happy, prosperous citizens. We hear on every hand the noisy hum of countless industries. Flashing in the sunlight we see on every ocean the white wings that are bearing to distant lands the products of our mills and factories and mines. And as our aspirations rise to higher levels and our minds turn to more valuable, though less visible, elements and evidences of national prosperity, we dwell with pride and

satisfaction on the thought of a new, if not a greater Britain, slowly rising into prominence on this Western Hemisphere, and proving herself not altogether unworthy of the rich heritage of the past by being true to those principles and traditions that have made Britain's name a name of honour in the world's great muster-roll of nations.

But even if these pleasurable anticipations of what is possible in the way of material development should become the splendid realities of our national existence, we would not necessarily be the great nation we aspire to be. Bigness is not synonymous with greatness. Industrial and commercial activity is not the highest form of national life, or the truest test of national success. Material prosperity may be purchased by a nation as well as by an individual at the cost of moral degradation and spiritual destitution. More important than any mere question of commerce or of agriculture is the question as to the place we are to occupy amongst the nations of the world and the spirit in which we are to deal with the problems connected with the evolution of our national life. What is that place to be? In the matter of national relationships, whither do our aspirations lead? Twenty years ago there were not a few able and loyal-hearted Canadians, who, anxious that we should at once assume all the responsibilities of an independent national existence, were ready to exclaim with Roberts, in half-impatient, half-defiant words:

How long the ignoble sloth, how long
The trust in greatness not their own?
Surely the lion's brood is strong,
To front the world alone.

It is remarkable how largely the desire for national independence has given place to a desire for a close and permanent connection with the old home land beyond the sea. Almost without exception Canadians have come to recognize that not only the interests of our own Dominion, but also the desirable object of a confederation of all the English-speaking peoples of the globe will be

best served by our maintaining our present position as an integral portion of the great British Empire; and with practical unanimity they enthusiastically endorse the eloquent appeal that came years ago from the graceful pen of Miss Machar:

Canadian blood has dyed Canadian soil
For Britain's honour, that we deemed our own:
Nor do we ask but for the right to keep
Unbroken, still, the cherished filial tie
That binds us to the distant, sea-girt isle
Our fathers loved, and taught their sons to love,
As the dear home of freemen, brave and true,
And loving honour more than ease or gold.

Recent events have added immensely to the force of that appeal. "Canadian blood has dyed a *foreign* soil for Britain's honour, that we deemed our own." We have an interest in Great Britain now that we never had before; for on the plains of South Africa the light of many a Canadian life went out in Britain's defence. And Great Britain takes a pride in Canada now that she never took before; for Canadian volunteers, fresh from the office or the workshop, the store or the ranch, proved themselves worthy of standing side by side with the war-worn veterans of the British army. But even the closest connection with the Empire we are so proud to belong to is not enough. Surely our national ambitions cannot be fully satisfied even by the highest possible degree of political power any more than by the largest possible measure of material prosperity. Our aspirations must take a wider range and have a loftier aim; for a country's highest glory dwells in the character of its citizenship.

Our national life, so varied in its origin and so complex in its composition, must be unified by the compelling power of a deep-rooted and intelligent patriotism. High ideals of civic excellence must be kept before the new communities that are so rapidly springing up, and in the breast of every citizen there must be awakened the sense of his personal responsibility for the general well-being and for the national honour. The

loftiest moral standard must be insisted upon in the case of all who aim at public leadership, and in our dealings with one another as private citizens we must cultivate the keenest sense of personal honour; for only thus can we prevent the recurrence of such discreditable events in the political and in the commercial world as have lately brought the blush of shame to the cheek of every true-hearted patriot and every honest man.

There must be in every heart a deepening sense of our dependence on a higher Power, if we are to be saved from the empty-headed pride that worldly success has such a tendency to foster; and in every enlargement of our national life and power we must recognize a summons to bear a larger share of "the white man's burden"—to take a larger part in the moral elevation and spiritual betterment of the whole human race. Only in the cherishing of such lofty aspirations as these can there be found any guarantee of abiding national glory. And it is *now*, in the early morning of our great work of nation-building, that these ideals must be wrought into the rapidly uprising framework of our national structure. To-morrow grows out of to-day; and the aspirations and activities of the present determine the channels along which all the energies of the future are to flow forth. The times we live in are big with opportunity. This is the gracious, solemn, formative period in the national life of the land we love. *It is for us to say what the future of Canada shall be.*

Through the young giant's mighty limbs, that stretch from sea
to sea,

There runs a throb of conscious life—of waking energy.
From Nova Scotia's misty coast to far Columbia's shore,
She wakes,—a band of scattered homes and colonies no more,
But a young nation, with her life full beating in her breast,
A noble future in her eyes—the Britain of the West.
Hers be the noble task to fill the yet untrodden plains
With fruitful, many-sided life that courses through her veins;
The English honour, nerve and pluck—the Scotsman's love of
right,—

The grace and courtesy of France,—the Irish fancy bright,—
The Saxon's faithful love of home, and home's affections blest;
And, chief of all, our holy faith,—of all our treasures best.



MR. W. P. ARCHIBALD.
Dominion Parole Officer, Ottawa.

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THE NEW CRIMINOLOGY.

Address by Mr. W. P. Archibald, Dominion Parole Officer, before the Empire Club of Canada, on Thursday, January 25th, 1906.

Mr. Chairman and Gentlemen,—

It is strange that the disbelief in the possibility of amendment on the part of the criminal should be so deep-seated and universal. Men and women equally guilty before law, human and divine, but who have not been exposed to the contamination and shame of prison life, have abandoned their evil courses in response to influences exerted upon them in free life. There have been many signal instances of transformation of character and conduct occurring in prison. It would be foolish to estimate the exact percentage of corrigible and incorrigible convicts, or to shut our eyes to the persistence of the criminal type of character, or to expect from the average prisoner anything more than that he shall cease to be a law-breaker and become a law-abiding citizen. Religion encourages this hope. So does science, as I shall now proceed to show.

The methods and achievements of science have profoundly modified metaphysical thought, so that a new word, psycho-physics, has been admitted to the dictionary. In the psycho-physical study of human nature, there is a constant recognition of the vital relation between mental experiences in the operations of the brain and of the nervous system in man, of their interdependence and reciprocal relations and influence. The researches of physiologists have shed light on much that was formerly obscure in the anatomical structure and functions of the body. We have learned that every mental impression and perception, every act of memory, of the imagination, of the judgment, of the will, every passing thought or emotion, is accompanied in this life, the only life of which we have experimental knowledge, by molecular changes in nerve tissue, by nervous

activity and emotion. The paths followed in the accumulation and discharge of nerve force have been partially traced. By the aid of vivisection, scientific proof of their existence has been secured, and the functional utility of certain tracts of the brain has been demonstrated, enabling us to localize, to a limited extent, cerebral action, and to inspire the hope that the further prosecution of the investigations now in progress may dispel some portion, at least, of the mystery which enshrouds our present dual existence.

The correspondence between the order of succession of nervous phenomena and the phenomena of thought, feeling and volition, and the fact that certain of them are demonstrably simultaneous, have given definiteness and precision to metaphysical speculation with reference to purely mental operations, if such there are; and they have given us an intelligible theory of the formation of habits, which, physiologically speaking, are neither more nor less than reflex nervous discharges rendered automatic by their repeated occurrence until the paths worn in the brain have become, so to say, broad and smooth. The current of nervous energy accordingly takes the line of least resistance. This parallelism extends as far as consciousness enables us to follow it, and, no doubt, it is still deeper and more far-reaching. It partially explains, perhaps, the well-known and familiar fact that bodily states, experiences and habits affect the mind, while mental states, experiences and habits equally affect the body.

Expert treatment is the ideal of the new criminology. In our researches we aim at nothing less than the suppression of evil habits and replacing them by their opposites; in other words, the wearing of paths in the brain which shall offer less resistance than the old, familiar paths; the creation of new habits of thought, speech and action, with or without the consent of the convict himself. This is a task of tremendous difficulty. It is revolution by means of evolution. It is education in the etymological sense of the word; the education of all the prisoner's faculties, physical, mental and moral,

on a well-considered, well-grounded plan, scientific and practical at the same time, but differentiated to meet the conditions and needs of each individual case. Kindness must be blended with severity, hope aroused as well as fear, obedience insisted upon and enforced, and above all the good will and co-operation of the patient enlisted for his recovery. Difficult as the task may be, it is not impossible; but time is essential for its accomplishment. How long a time is uncertain and cannot ever be foretold in advance.

The tendency of the parole system is to change the atmosphere of the prison. The convict, when his opposition to our penitentiary discipline has once been overcome, comes to regard it as the abode of hope, not of despair. Sooner or later, he recognizes in the warden a friend, whose strongest wish is to lift him out of the degradation into which he has fallen. When he begins to perceive that it is himself who made war upon society and that society is not his enemy, as he had blindly imagined, his reformation is begun. When he learns the meaning and intention of the law, and becomes reconciled to it, like a wild animal tamed, his reformation is achieved. Affirmatively, therefore, as well as negatively, the parole system is shown to have rational basis.

Let no one think that these assertions are the language of a sentimentalist or a visionary. Their truth has been verified by experience. If a man has been in prison for a term of five years, more or less, it is a momentous instant for him when the guard slips the bolt and he steps out a free man. But if this man was a criminal five minutes before he was discharged from prison, so he is in principle five minutes after; moving the bolt only reshapes his circumstances without doing anything to change the man. Change of circumstance is no index of change of character. Constructive work in connection with the parole system has first of all to be put into the personality of the man before he leaves the prison; then there must be the effort on his part to reform and do better before the system can help him.

In the operation of the parole system we get to know

the man from every standpoint before a movement is made to help him. Then a patron is sought out who will give the man employment, and also take a special interest in his oversight to encourage him in his endeavour to be law-abiding. Through industry and the new-found social environments a delinquent is made to feel the possibility of his regaining a social status and becoming a good citizen. Should he relapse into his old ways of living, the license is revoked and the man is returned to prison.

In the ordinary affairs of life men everywhere seek the causes which produce effects. Men are called into being, live their lives and pass away in obedience to natural laws which are as immutable as the movement of the tides. In the evolution of our penal administration the defect of the born cripple, the idiot, the insane, is no longer charged to the poor victim, who, unhampered by the world, still has a burden as heavy as should be given any mortal man to bear. It is not very long ago that a world, about as intelligent as our own, believed that disease, deformity and sin came from the same cause—some sort of an evil spirit or genius that found his abode in man. The way to destroy the evil spirit was to destroy the man. But penal systems have undergone a tremendous change. The paramount purpose of all effort in our Federal institutions is to "correct with punishment." It is necessary at times to be severe in our treatment of the criminal, but never unrelenting. While charity sustains the heart, science and religion must govern the mind. They are indissolubly joined in the treatment of the criminal classes. With these two elements in a man's make-up, the spectres of pessimism which generally haunt the background of our efforts will vanish.

Better than any clamour or system for the cure of crime is the purpose of prevention. For if to cure is the voice of the past, and to suppress is the command of temporary physical force, to prevent must be the divine whisper of spiritual power. Prevention did not begin soon enough to entirely prevent crime. To prevent crime, as

in preventing ill-health, we should begin at least a century before the criminal is born. We are just beginning to approach an ideal by insisting upon better homes for the poor and vicious; by child-placing in well selected homes; and by the provisions of the juvenile Court. While even these excellent agencies cannot affect those whose early life is not touched by their beneficent influence, yet preventive measures may be applied to them at any point of their progress downward, and keep them from drifting further. Has society the right to punish a feeble being and not try to rescue, protect and correct it? To extend to a wayward one the friendly hand, to help it in its distress to forget, and make it forget, the past blemish and taint; to make into a good citizen one who might become a useless and dangerous being; is not only to serve the highest and truest interests of one's country, but to render a lasting and beneficial service to humanity. Chastisement to the delinquent without a possibility of a parole or pardon and forgetfulness, discourages and degrades the delinquent; the hope of rehabilitation provokes to effort and restores.

The wisdom of the parole system and the discretion exercised in its administration can be judged by results. From the adoption of the system in 1899 until the close of the last fiscal year there were 1,082 paroles granted. Of this number of prisoners paroled, 657, or about sixty-one per cent., have completed their sentences, under license, without violation of the conditions imposed; while 325, or thirty per cent., additional, have thus far respected the conditions of their licenses which are still operative. Those who have forfeited their licenses by subsequent conviction, and who may be thought to represent the criminal element of those under license, number 24, or but little over two per cent. The remaining seven per cent. have been re-committed for non-compliance with the conditions of the license, but without charge of criminality against them during the period they were at large.

It cost the State \$254 per capita for the maintenance of convicts in our penitentiaries during the past year.

The 222 men released on parole this past year who have proved themselves satisfactory cases have turned producers. The State has not only been relieved of the cost of their keeping in penitentiary, but these men working outside at labourers' wages (\$1.50 per day) produce in the year over one hundred thousand dollars to the support of their families and themselves. I know many of those men who are earning three or four dollars per day, having good positions as capable mechanics, etc., in various cities of the Dominion. The following statement of results have been compiled from figures obtained from the Commissioner of Dominion Police, and I submit them for your consideration:

CONVICTS PAROLED.	1899-1900	1900-1	1901-2	1902-3	1903-4	1904-5	Total
From penitentiaries.....	71	122	157	113	122	127	712
From prisons, jails and reformatories.....	1	53	89	65	67	95	370
Total.....	72	175	246	178	189	222	1082
Licenses cancelled for non-compliance with conditions.....	5	9	19	11	16	16	76
Licenses forfeited by subsequent convictions....	7	8	6	2	...	1	24
Sentences completed on parole.....	59	141	189	124	96	48	657
Sentences not yet terminated	1	17	32	41	77	157	325
Total.....	72	175	246	178	189	222	1082

PUBLIC OWNERSHIP OF PUBLIC UTILITIES.

Address by Mr. John Z. White, of Chicago, before the Empire Club of Canada, on Thursday, February 1st, 1906.

Mr. Chairman and Gentlemen,—

Controversy over the question of public ownership of public utilities is becoming more and more heated. Those who oppose public ownership insist that it is nothing more or less than a decided step toward socialism—in fact, that public ownership is socialism. Those who favour public ownership argue that this is the only measure whereby individualism can be maintained; that private ownership of these utilities is steadily crushing independent industries. Where opinion is so widely separated it is probably needless to say that there is plenty of room for argument. Argument, however, is not common in dealing with public questions. Declamation is easier.

It is claimed by advocates of public ownership that the railroad is a public function. This claim is scouted by others as only the expression of a theory and a demand is made for something practical. Barely stopping to note that a theory is but an explanation, the other side retorts that outside of the United States about two-thirds of the railroads in the world are publicly owned. But this fact has little effect on the average American. He is confident that his way is the best way. He is as sure of this as a voodooist is of the efficacy of charms.

Besides, all the railway experts so declare, and they know. Of course, they know. When we wish to learn about groceries, we ask grocers; when we wish to learn about stocks, we ask brokers. And so, if we want to know about railroads, we should, of course, ask railroaders. Looks reasonable, doesn't it? What is wrong with this idea? Simply this. The question is not of

railroads, but of government. Work it out. As I have suggested, the railroad is a public function. Now apply the rule to that idea. When we would learn about government, we seek governors; and who may these be? There is an old-fashioned, maybe obsolete, notion to the effect that the people rule—that they are in very truth governors. And what say the people? Why, the people are not of one mind—are divided. Hence the arguments. And these are made to the people. For the people, not any particular set of experts, nor all sets, but the whole people, are to deal with and settle this question.

One thing is beyond dispute. If private ownership is the better plan, we in the United States are now getting its full benefit—the best possible. Strange as it may seem, however, not even Populists and Democrats, but prominent Republicans—even the President—are insisting that something must be done. Imagine! Something must be done to relieve the best possible condition! Curious, isn't it? Yes, something must be done. The question of public ownership of public utilities is up, and full and fair discussion will sooner or later compel an equitable settlement. What fundamental principle supports the claim that railroads are public utilities? Simply this, that each individual has a natural right of highway. That is to say, in order to live we must produce food, clothing and shelter. We desire and have a right to produce these in the most economical way known. The basic law in economics is that "man seeks to gratify his desires with the least exertion," which is but a recognition in human nature of the physical fact that all forces flow along the line of least resistance. This desire to produce in the most economical way leads to subdivision of labour. That is, one man or a group of men produces one form of wealth, while another man or another group produces another form. Then they trade portions of their products. This process of trading gives rise to a certain physical necessity—namely, a path or highway.

Men produce wheat in Dakota. Other men produce

cotton in Mississippi. They wish to trade; they have a natural right to trade. To trade they must cross the land. Other men wish to produce corn and other varieties of wealth in localities between Dakota and Mississippi. These also have a desire and a right to trade. Is it not perfectly clear that the establishment of the necessary paths, or highways, will lead to conflict if left to individuals? Will not one man wish to make a path where another will wish to grow corn? Right here a distinction should be noted: Each individual has a right to cross the land—a right of highway. So, also, each has a right to the use of air. In the latter case, however, each can use the air without interfering with his neighbour, but in the case of the highway this is physically impossible. It is this physical condition that compels a community to act as a unit in establishing highways. And when a community acts as a unit the majority must rule. It not only can rule, but it must—either positively or negatively. If the minority rule is it not because the majority refrains from exercising its power?

This physical necessity distinguishes the public function. Therefore has the right of highway always been a matter of public law. The community—the public—must act. Even our present railroad systems rest on this communal or public action. The right-of-way is the public thing—the common right. It is therefore asserted by advocates of public ownership that when any public body grants a right-of-way to a group of individuals it thereby gives to this group a power that properly inheres in the whole people. Further, that the power of the whole people is sovereign, and that therefore such a grant is a partial abdication of sovereignty.

An argument so simple, and seemingly so conclusive, would undoubtedly result in public administration of public utilities were it not for the fact that a wrong disposition of social forces, while injurious to the community as a whole, is financially beneficial to a few who control by virtue of mistaken law. A generation or two ago wolves were numerous in northern Illinois. Some local-

ities began to give bounties for their destruction, and almost immediately some of the farmers began breeding wolves. It paid better than breeding hogs. Many things can be done through legislative stimulus; even wolf culture is thereby possible—graft culture as well. Because of this private profit we find all manner of reasons advanced against the policy of public ownership of public utilities. First it is claimed that public operation is wasteful; that private profit is the only incentive that will insure careful and economical management. There is just truth in this contention. Private management does tend toward economy in management. But who gets the resulting profit?

If a given service can be produced under private management at a cost of 10, while under public management the cost is 12, but is rendered to the people at cost by public producers, and at a profit of 50 per cent. by private producers, or an expense to buyers of 15, which is the greater economy? Or, if public producers make the same charge, namely, 15, will not the profit of 3 inure to the people instead of being a private bargain? It would seem that all that can be fairly claimed on behalf of the economy of private management of public utilities may be freely granted without loss to the argument for public ownership.

But the practical man is never content with argument. He wants facts. Well, facts can be furnished to him in great abundance. For instance, Hugh H. Lusk of Australia tells us this: In proportion to population that country has nearly six times as many miles of telegraph lines as any other country in the world, excepting New Zealand. It has one telegraph station for every 1,300 people. In the United States we have one for every 3,000. Australia sends two and one-half messages per year per inhabitant. We send one. Our rates are from two to three times higher than those of Australia. The Australian lines make three per cent. above cost of operation and maintenance. The rate of profit would hardly satisfy Mr. Gould. The post-office and telegraph is administered by the public as one

system, and in small places the postmaster and operator is the same person. Of 6,000 post-offices, 3,000 are telegraph stations. And with it all the population of Australia is only about one-twentieth that of the United States.

United States Consul Charles N. Daniels reported on public ownership of the water system at Sheffield, England. Charges had been reduced 25 per cent. All expenses were met, including sinking fund, and a good profit secured. Profit in 1887 was \$29,058; in 1904, \$361,231. Improvements in plant and reduction in cost to consumers had been made by the city, and yet gross and net revenues had increased under the despised public ownership system. In 1904 the city began furnishing water for free public baths, and for other purposes, by which the expenses of the health department were reduced \$13,140.

United States Consul Hamm, Hull, England, reports that the private telephone company charged nearly \$50 per year for telephone service to a private family. The public establishment renders like services for a little less than \$25, thereby forcing the private company to do likewise. A curious fact is that the private company is under contract to render as cheap service in all cities, as in any, for unlimited service. If American officers knew how to bargain as well as the British we might fare better—or if we were a little more careful in selecting public officers. Gas is also under public management in Hull; also water; also electric lighting; also street cars. In each department a profit is shown, with the following low prices to consumers: Street car fare, two cents; exclusive telephone service in private house less than \$25 per year; in business office, \$30 per year; gas, 48 cents per thousand feet. Consul Hamm says the object is not to make profit, but to furnish citizens with the service. That policy may have its advantages. In Glasgow, street cars were placed in possession of the public in July, 1894. Fares have been reduced 30 to 40 per cent. Drivers and conductors were required to work 12 and 14 hours a day. Under public management they

work ten hours. Meanwhile the concern is making money for the city, after meeting all obligations.

Dr. Hugo R. Meyer, Lecturer on Political Economy at Harvard, tries to counteract the influence of the facts of public ownership in Glasgow, and to this end makes comparisons between conditions in the United States and Britain. That is not a fair comparison. The true method is to compare Glasgow under private management with Glasgow under public management. He makes much of the fact that some car fares in Glasgow are six cents, but fails to tell us that 18 per cent. of total receipts is from one cent fares, and 67 per cent. of total receipts is from two cent fares. He tells us the average length of ride in Boston is estimated to be between three and four miles. But how the estimate is arrived at he leaves us to guess. It seems to be assumed merely from the fact that in some of our cities street car lines are longer than in Glasgow. Railroad lines in the United States are also longer than in Great Britain, yet Prof. Emory R. Johnson quotes Dr. Weyl, of the University of Pennsylvania, to show among other things that the Briton travels 244 miles to the American's 209. He takes three and a half trips to the American's single one. Dr. Meyer tells us that it is as easy to earn two cents in the United States as to earn one in Glasgow, as if the ease or difficulty with which we earn should determine to what extent we shall be robbed.

Gas in Glasgow was \$1.14 per thousand before public ownership. It is 54 cents now. Water was 14 pence per thousand gallons; now it is six pence. We are told that in Manchester for a morning or evening street car ride workmen are charged two cents without regard to distance; that Huddersfield has public ownership of water, gas and electric plants and street cars, while rates are much lower than any in this country; that a Belgian workman living 42 miles from his place of employment can buy a ticket good to go and come six times a week for 57 cents; that in Berlin like tickets on suburban lines, some of them running ten miles into the country, are sold for 17 cents a week; that in the same city a yearly

ticket, good for an average ride of five miles in and out as often as you please on any train, is sold for \$4.50; that as far back as 1894 Russia reduced passenger rates to three-fourths of a cent per mile for distances under 106 miles, and for 2,000 miles the fare was \$6; that this paid so well a farther reduction was made; that in Victoria publicly owned railroads earned enough revenue to pay all the Federal taxes. In 1903 the Municipal Year Book of Great Britain showed that 56 cities give a profit of over \$5,000,000 on municipal lighting, which under our management would have gone into private pockets, with undoubtedly as much if not twice as much more. The average fare on railroads in Switzerland is 1.55 cents, in France 1.21 cents, in Germany 1.1 cents, in Austria-Hungary 1 cent, in Belgium 0.88 cent, in the United States 2 cents. It would be more here but for deadheads.

Such figures as we are permitted to examine by the kindly owners of the United States reveal a worse condition than that of Europe. Ex-Governor Larrabee of Iowa places the average cost of railroad construction at \$25,000 per mile, and the water in the capitalization at \$38,000 per mile. C. Wood Davis says many lines have been built for \$8,000 to \$15,000 per mile; that the Kansas Midland cost \$10,200 and was capitalized at \$53,024 per mile; that the Superintendent of the St. Louis & Iron Mountain Railroad swore before the Arkansas State Board of Assessors that he could duplicate that road for \$11,000 per mile, but it was capitalized at five times that sum. Poor's Annual gives the U.S. railroad capitalization for 1890 at \$63,600 per mile, and says it was 50 per cent. water. This leaves cost a trifle over \$30,000 per mile; but the estimate evidently was not intended to be exact. Floyd W. Mundy says the New York, Ontario and Western has 480 miles of track, while the Chesapeake and Ohio has 1,500 miles. The earnings for 1901 were about \$10,000 per mile on each road, but the capital stock on each road was about the same in spite of the difference in length. The railway capitalization for 1903 is given by the Inter-State Commerce Commission

at \$63,186 per mile. The Chairman of the Inter-State Commerce Commission, speaking to the Senate Committee, said:

"It costs about one-fourth of what the wheat sells for to get it to the sea-board market. The freight on a train of 40 cars, with 20 tons to the car, making 1,200 tons, from Chicago to New York, at 20 cents a hundred, would be \$4,800, yet the bare cost of hauling that train is not much over 50 cents a mile. That is, a train which earns nearly \$5,000 is moved at an expense of about \$500."

The large capitalization is primarily for the purpose of concealing as far as possible the unreasonably large profits, although it often serves other ends, especially in stock-jobbing schemes, and indirectly aids in the advance of rates. Passenger rates vary from two to four cents per mile. In Europe first-class fare is three cents, and is paid by the aristocracy, the fools and the Americans. Second-class is one and one-half to two cents, and is used by the well-to-do middle class people. Third-class varies from one-half to one cent a mile, and accommodates more than two-thirds of the passenger traffic. In the United States the rich pay little or nothing; ordinary people who travel much, pay two cents—the "mileage" rate; the poor and others who travel but little (the third-class in Europe, which travels at one cent or less), pay three cents or more. This result, of course, flows from the fact that we have no classes in our democratic republic, where every man is the perfect equal of his fellow before the law! An oil refiner writes under date of October 4th, 1899, that he "manufactures 35,000 barrels of oil per month. Seventy per cent. is marketed in Europe, and 90 per cent. of that in countries where the railroads are controlled by the Governments. We have no difficulty in competing with the Standard Oil Company in those countries." He further says that he is a "believer in government ownership of the transportation lines of this country." Now can we help inclining to agree with his view, when we remember that all honest men have always been opposed to interference with the highway—even by Dick Turpin.

But it is objected that public ownership would so increase the number of public employes that the political supremacy of the party in power would be perpetuated. Is there anyone so innocent as not to know that these corporations are in politics now, are in fact the dominating influence in both parties—both before and after elections, and that their influence is exerted secretly? If railroads are great forces, and, therefore, to be feared, shall we not be safer if they appear in the political arena openly? Will it not be much safer to have a Government manager who can be called to account than an irresponsible one who might carelessly remark: "The people be damned?" When railroads go into liquidation, is it not our practice to place them in the hands of receivers, and has not such management been found to be as honest and efficient as that of the men appointed by the railroad corporations? Grant all that may be claimed as to the dangers of public ownership of public utilities, and private ownership is many-fold more dangerous. "It is socialism anyway," cry monopoly beneficiaries. No, it is not? Socialism is public ownership of private utilities.

Private utilities are those utilities that are naturally open to free competition. Lines of business that rest on a right of way do not fall within this definition. As I have already mentioned, the right of way is the common right. It is controlled by law, necessarily. We have developed a practice of abdicating this power, and thereby have placed in private hands what amounts to a power to tax. There is yet to be shown a group of men long in power who have not used such authority to enrich themselves by oppressing others. At present the railroads can destroy or stimulate any industry in any particular locality. If the public of the United States owned the roads, how would the iced-car trick of the beef trust work? Where would be the leverage of the oil monopoly? Who would get the passes? Should we not save the whole cost of railroad solicitors which C. Wood Davis places at \$20,000,000 per year? By using shortest routes we could save \$25,000,000; by consoli-

dating depots and staffs, \$20,000,000; by refusing passes, \$30,000,000; by dispensing with useless officers, \$33,000,000. By earning, instead of appropriating, the money of the people we could avoid killing one passenger in every 2,267,000 carried, while Germany kills one in 10,000,000; we could avoid injuring one in 170,141, while Germany injures one in 1,700,000. In ten years we killed over 66,000. As to employees, we injure one in every 28, and kill one in 447.

There is, however, a method by which the anxiety of those who fear socialism may be allayed, provided the so-called conservatives will undertake a vigorous corrective policy. This method involves genuine public regulation. Since the beginning of the agitation for the Inter-State Commerce Commission in the Republic we have had nothing but failure from any and all attempts at regulation, and it is now frequently said that the roads are stronger than the Government. In a sense this statement is true, as President Roosevelt is likely to discover. But why is it true? The vulgar notion is that the monopoly companies corruptly influence elections and both Legislative and Judicial bodies. There is a large amount of truth in this same vulgar notion. But a much more potent cause for the failure of regulative measures, and one which influential advocates of regulation studiously ignore, is the doctrine laid down in the Dartmouth College case, by no less an individual than John Marshall, while Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of the United States. As was entirely fitting, Daniel Webster appeared as counsel. In that case, without right or authority, but by usurpation, Marshall held a corporation franchise to be a contract, and, therefore, under the protection of the clause in the Constitution regarding the inviolability of contractual obligations. This is the doctrine which makes regulation so difficult. It is contrary to all precedent. Contrary to all reason. It was, and is, pure usurpation. If our people want regulation, instead of public ownership, they must get rid of that doctrine.

If those who oppose public ownership on the ground

that it is socialism, should substitute public regulation they would first be obliged to abrogate, in the United States, the John Marshall doctrine. Unless this can be done we must be swept forward in the rising tide of public ownership sentiment. The condition of trade and labour calls for redress. The advantage of modern productive power is secured to those holding legal privileges. Industry—both capital and labour—is despoiled. But the essential remedy is simple. Restore liberty to all men. We seek not property, but freedom to earn and keep what we earn. The spoliation of industry is increasing with even greater ratio than the power to produce. All available land is owned. Therefore the normal safety valve of our industrial population is closed. So long as there be available lands open for settlement, so long is abject poverty impossible. But with this avenue of escape shut off, beware.

Finally, people in Canada as well as the United States must not hope too much from the public ownership of public utilities. If railroads are placed in the hands of the public the farmer will be able to ship his produce more cheaply. The same is true of the manufacturer, and of all other producers. What, then? As the farmer makes more profit the value of his land will rise. As the manufacturer increases his profits, his site for business becomes more desirable, and, therefore, more valuable. The same is true of all kinds of producers. It follows, then, that as we find relief from monopoly charges by public utility corporations, we shall be met by increasing monopoly charges by land owners. What we save from the clutches of railroads we shall lose to the rapacity of earth owners. Shall we, therefore, vote public ownership hopeless? By no means. We will declare that land owners are no more entitled to unearned wealth than are railroad companies. Tax no industry. Tax the value of land alone. We demand freedom from all monopoly.

The history of all countries where public ownership has been tried, without curtailing the landlord's power, shows no relief to the industrial masses. In Glasgow

we find an increasingly emphatic demand that the British Parliament give to the city permission to tax land values. We find the demand indorsed by scores of other municipalities in Scotland and England. Public ownership makes the truth very clear. If we add all the earnings of public utility corporations together, we have a sum not much over one-half of the amount we pay in taxes, although the Governments do not get all that we pay. Some one does. The total values of the country are probably not less than \$100,000,000,000. Subtract from this amount all public utility values and commodity and building values, and look carefully at the remainder—and name it.

Private taxation is the cause of all industrial troubles. Public taxation of private monopoly is the remedy. Judge Grosscup, of the United States District Court at Chicago, says we must, in that country, recast and regenerate the Republic's corporation policy. He thinks the general Government should undertake this task. Has the general Government's course thus far been such as to inspire confidence? It looks very much as though that same general Government, as it appears in the guise of the Supreme Court, might be the cause of our difficulties. Still, the Judge makes a splendid presentation of the cause of private property, giving as his text: "In the beginning the Creator so conditioned mankind, that always underneath him would be the earth, always about him the air, always above him the sky. On this, as a dowry, he started us." But the Judge did not enlighten us as to who has taken possession of the dowry. Nor did he explain how it may be recovered. Yet this is the question that all must face—in Canada as well as with us. Here is the task for "big hearts and big brains," and it is a task that big brains have heretofore been much more agile in dodging than courageous in meeting. What shall it profit us if we gain all public utilities and lose the whole world?

THOMAS D'ARCY MCGEE AS AN EMPIRE BUILDER.

Address by Mr. J. K. Foran, Litt.D., of Ottawa, before the Empire Club of Canada, on February 8th, 1906.

Mr. Chairman and Gentlemen,—

It is needless to detain you with any lengthy expression of my deep appreciation of the honour conferred upon me in being thus permitted to address the Empire Club of Canada. The name of your Association and the patriotic spirit which animates its officers and members would suggest a subject in accord with the splendid ideals that your principles represent, but time and the limited acquirements of the speaker make a less ambitious effort more obviously necessary on this occasion. When a mountain torrent is stayed in its descent by an obstacle, the waters fret and toss in their curbed unrest, but when the impediment is removed they flow on even brighter, swifter and with more power than ever. So it is with me this afternoon, if, with my inexpressive phrase, I stop for a few moments the flow of your festive enjoyment, it is merely in order that in removing myself as the obstruction, it may go on the stronger and the brighter than before.

"Thomas D'Arcy McGee as an Empire Builder" is the subject I have selected for this brief address. It might possibly be made more entertaining were I to speak of that many-sided child of genius as the historian of his native land, for nothing could be more interesting than a detailed account of all his conscientious researches and his unflagging zeal in the perfecting of his greatest historical achievement. Those were days of great exertion and of labour, when men had neither stenographers nor typewriters, nor any of the aids that we enjoy, when the pen had to trace every line of composition and the lively imagination and quickly con-

ceived ideas had to be curbed and bridled while the mechanical task of transcription was being accomplished. It might also be made more brilliant and enthusiastic were I to speak of him as a poet and to quote from his splendid volume of historical, patriotic, sentimental and Canadian poems—a veritable casket of glittering gems, each one of priceless value in the storehouse of English literature. Again, it might be more attractive and powerful were I to dwell upon McGee as an orator and, giving samples of his logical, polished and eloquent lectures and speeches, show how in a transcendent degree he possessed the sublime gift of silver speech. But all these phases of his personality are, in a way, merely accidents in the great purpose of his well-filled career. They are the sparkling ripples that add picturesqueness and beauty to the stream of his life; beneath them, broad, deep and powerful, flows on the great current of his almost prophetic statesmanship; and it is to this seer-like gift that he owes the deserved title of an Empire Builder.

I simply seek this afternoon to raise a corner of the curtain that has long hung between the eyes of the great public and the secret of McGee's wonderful career of less than forty years, and to afford to the men of our day a glimpse of the real principles that actuated him, in common with other gifted souls of the same nationality and of the same school, in the work they had set so determinedly before them. Misjudged by some, misunderstood by others, McGee at one time was the victim of prejudices as unreasonable as they were blind, and at another period he was the victim of a blindness that was as irrational as it was prejudiced. The better to appreciate his career and the presence of the same all-embracing principle that accompanied him through all its vicissitudes it is necessary to divide his life into two parts; his early years in Ireland and America, then his closing years in Canada. And that we may see how McGee was no exception among the men of his generation and of his country, I will have to ask you to come for a few moments, in spirit, to the early "forties" of

the nineteenth century, and to glance at the remarkable lives and still more remarkable aims, of some of his associates—the men with whom he studied and laboured at the dawn of his strangely varied career.

It was in 1842 that three young men—Davis, Dillon and Duffy—sat down in the Phoenix Park, in Dublin, and there, studying the unfortunate condition of their country, decided to establish a paper that would infuse a new and more life-inspiring spirit into the Irish people. They saw the absolute need of higher and broader education, and the motto of the new organ was "Educate that you may be free." The success of the *Nation* was immediate, it was phenomenal. These men and the host of writers who sprang into existence, with poems, essays and works of deep thought, as prolific as flowers on a river bank in summer, devoted themselves to the study of political economy, of the science of government, and especially of the British Constitution. The sudden death of Davis, the prophet and guide of the party, in 1845, brought their grand schemes almost to ruin. The blow was severe in the extreme. To add to their misfortunes fresh batches of coercion acts were launched, which only seemed to goad the people whom they sought to divert into an opposite pathway. Then came the famine of 1847. It would seem as if the very elements had conspired with the prejudiced section of humanity to frustrate their noble designs. "From the winter of 1846 to the summer of 1848 the wing of an avenging angel swept their sky and soil; the fruits died as the shadow passed, and men who had nurtured them into life saw in the withered leaves that they, too, must die,"—or else leave their homes and betake themselves to exile.

McGee was at this time an American editor; he had fled from Ireland in the dark hour, and already was he deeply occupied with the study of the American system, its constitution and its principles. In Ireland an insurrection had broken out, led by William Smith O'Brien, and that gifted and noble student of political science has left a monumental work, his "*Principles of Government*," as an evidence of his deep appreciation of British

institutions and his honest sorrow that they could not be extended, in all their perfection of freedom, to his own country.

The *Nation* was seized. Duffy was arrested, accused of treason-felony, and tried in Dublin. By some technicality he escaped the utmost penalty. With all his brightest hopes and aspirations shattered, he left his native land and made his way to Australia. But he took with him into that distant Colony the same principles that actuated him at home. There he found a congenial soil whereon to sow that seed; soon he began to ascend the ladder of power. Finally he reached the post of Prime Minister in one of the Colonies, and then he brought all his past experience and all his mature energy to bear in an effort to combine them all in one great Commonwealth for their own protection and for the stability of the Empire. He laid the foundation of the Confederation that is to-day a reality in that section of the world. And the same grand principle animated him and the same ideal beckoned him on—whether he stood an accused rebel in the Dublin dock, or bent his knee as the hand of the most queenly woman—Victoria—who had ever wielded the sceptre of royalty, placed the sword of Imperial authority on his shoulder, and for the services he had rendered the Empire, commanded him to arise “Sir Charles Gavan Duffy.”

The principles imbibed by Dillon, O'Brien, Duffy and their associates, animated Thomas D'Arcy McGee, both in Ireland and in Canada. The grand idea of solidifying the British Empire by transforming Ireland from a mill-stone around its neck to a key-stone in its arch of greatness permeated the lives of these men. McGee, I repeat, was no exception; he was of the same school, and with gifts far more numerous and more brilliant than his contemporaries, he never found play for his talents, nor opportunity for his aims, nor a shrine wherein to set up his ideal, until he came to Canada. Once here, all his deep study of the British constitution, in theory, became illumined by contact with it in practice, and at once he bent all his energies in the direction of raising Canada

to her rightful position and making her the polished buckle in the belt of Empire engirdling the world.

It was in 1863, just at the outbreak of the American conflict, that McGee delivered—here in Toronto—a remarkable lecture on “The Future of Canada.” His own words will illustrate better than could any language of mine the character of his aspirations and the magnificent plans for the upbuilding of the Empire, through the medium of this grand Colony, that he had conceived; and I may add that he never lost sight of his Irish hopes and aims. He saw that Canada’s prosperity and happiness, under the unrestricted freedom afforded by the constitution, would become a most powerful factor—an irresistible one—in obtaining like liberty and like autonomy for the land of his birth. On that occasion Mr. McGee said: “It may be said that it is rather strange for an Irishman who spent his youth in resisting that Government in his native country to be found among the admirers of British constitutional government in Canada. To that this is my reply—if in my day Ireland had been governed as Canada is governed, I would have been as sound a constitutional conservative as is to be found in that land. But, although I was not born and bred in the best school to see the merits of the British constitutional system, I trust I am not going to quarrel with the sun and the elements because of late it has rained 200 out of 365 days on that particular spot of earth on which I was born. I take the British constitutional system as the great original system on which are founded the institutions of all free states. . . . I take it as combining in itself permanency and liberty—liberty which is enjoyed in practice by all the people of Canada, of every origin and creed.”

The liberties which we now enjoy in Canada, and which McGee so highly appreciated, were won by the men of 1837-38, who rose up against the violation of the spirit of that liberty-imparting constitution. Success attended their efforts in Canada—hence the loyalty of the French-Canadian people of to-day. In Ireland the struggle was of a like character, but failure left the

country in the same position as it had been for generations. Standing upon the hilltop and gazing out upon the future Dominion, his eagle eye taking in every detail of the scene to the horizon's uttermost rim, the prophetic statesman then proceeded: "Though theoretical to-day, our future will be practical to-morrow. I never posed as a preacher of loyalty; I preach security, I preach precaution, I preach self-preservation." Then pointing out that the Governments of the Old World were nearly all monarchies, while those of the New World were principally republics, he began a deep analysis of the two systems, and a description of that most adapted to the present and future needs of Canada.

"Some monarchies," he said, "in all but name might be considered republics, while some republics partake largely, if not of monarchical, certainly of an oligarchical character. We can only appeal to two teachers—contemporary events and the voice of history." Let me quote another passage and then we will come to the irrefutable logic of McGee's political reasoning: "British precedent and American examples," he said, "are the landmarks for us; by and beyond them we must go, but it is still within our power to say on which shore we shall sacrifice, and under what auspices we shall elect to prosecute our destined course. The American example has, for me, the fatal defect of instability and inconstancy." Be it remembered that McGee was then fresh from a lengthy and close study of the American constitutional system in all its phases, and that he was speaking in Canada while the first shots of the great struggle between the North and South resounded across the line. "As to the other original of a free state," he said, "the British Constitution, it will at least be allowed, even by its enemies, the merit of stability. As it exists to-day it has existed for 800—for 1,000 years. Here, then, is a form of government that has lasted, with modifications to suit the spirit of the age, for a period of 800 years, and here is another that has lasted 80 years; one has a career of eight centuries, and the other a life of two and a half generations. In this country there are no ancient

ruins, no time-honoured relics of antiquity—mementoes and grand indicators of the past—to influence the minds of the people, give tone to their morals and their manners, and remind them that they have something to preserve—here, therefore, do we need an olden, a time-defying, a liberty-imparting constitution, that has been in process of preparation for us through all the changes and improvements of the centuries that are gone.”

Were I to quote further it might be said that my entire address consisted of McGee's great lecture; these passages suffice to indicate the trend of his ideas and the solidity of the principles that fashioned his course. If you look closely into it you will find that the British constitutional system is a powerful unity composed of reciprocally necessary parts that form a trinity of powers. Tyranny is rendered practically impossible by the fact that all legislation must either emanate from the people through their duly elected representatives in the Commons, or be concurred in by them. Anarchy and revolutionary tendencies are held in check by the necessary passage of that legislation through the crucible of the House of Lords—exponents and representatives of vested rights. And all danger to the social edifice is obviated by the veto power of the monarch, who is the highest and final tribunal and whose power is consecrated in the olden legend that “the King can do no wrong.” Thus the monarch cannot impose a law on the people that the latter section of that trinity has not accepted and even originated, while the masses cannot undermine constitutional authority, nor shake the fabric of the state without the co-operation of both the representatives of the classes and of the sovereign of the realm. Thus evenly-balanced, that constitutional system is perfectly adapted to a free people and especially to a young nationhood such as that of the Canadian Dominion. McGee saw that legislative freedom guaranteed by the constitution, “broadening down from precedent to precedent,” through all the vicissitudes of eight centuries, and, with his seer-like gift, he beheld it as the principal element in the accomplishment of that great

millennium of peace and happiness foretold by the immortal Laureate:

When the war-drums beat no more,
And the battle-flags are furl'd,
In the Parliament of man,
The Federation of the world.

To attain that grand and general federation McGee saw that it was necessary to solidify the world-engirdling Empire of Britain and to have each section of that Empire contribute to the construction and permanent stability of the whole edifice; it was necessary to confederate the various Provinces in one great bond of political wedlock, in the premier Colony—the Colony destined in the order of things, to become the storehouse of the civilized world. And he saw in the Confederation of this Dominion the assurance of untold progress and prosperity, of boundless freedom and happiness, and in that grand consummation he beheld the most powerful example and most irrefutable argument that men of the coming generation could present, when asking for Ireland like political liberty and like legislative autonomy. Thus his principles in Canada were in perfect harmony with his aims in Ireland, and his attitude in Ireland (like that of Duffy) merely pointed towards the same ideal that loomed so grandly before him when he devoted his talents and energies to the cause of British constitutional greatness in this young country.

In his early years his motives were misunderstood by the political opponents of his country's cause, and as the victim of that misunderstanding he was driven into exile. In his later years his aims were misjudged by men who had not his keen vision and he fell the victim of his own great honesty of purpose and perhaps a too frank expression of opinions that time has fully justified—but which were beyond the capacities and comprehensive powers of certain men of his own day. I am not going to rehearse the tragic story of his untimely end. Scarcely had the echo of his last eloquent plea for con-

federation, for harmony, for tolerance, died away amidst the Gothic niches of the new Parliament House at Ottawa on the—sadly memorable—morning of April the 7th, 1868, than the calm of a glorious night, disturbed only by the roar of the distant Chaudiere, was broken by a sharper and more deadly report, and the great good heart of the gifted statesman had ceased forever to beat, the magic tongue of the noble orator was silent for all time, and the patriot soul of Thomas D'Arcy McGee stood, amidst a more awful silence, in the scintillating glory of God's presence.

"It is not Death alone, but Time and Death, that canonize the patriot," said Duffy, in speaking of Thomas Davis. Well might we apply the same truthful expression to Thomas D'Arcy McGee. We are yet too near to see his proportions truly. When all the great designs he had conceived shall be brought to accomplishment, when his wonderful visions concerning Canada's future shall be realized—and many of them have already been fulfilled—the future historian will be in a position to assign him the deserved place he must occupy in the Valhalla of Canadian statesmanship. Until then we must be content with gleaning from the fragments of his works—his poems, lectures, speeches, essays, histories—whatever idea of a truly great man can be derived from books and the products of a fertile and well-balanced brain.

However, we can draw for our guidance and for the benefit of the future citizens of Canada, lessons of tolerance and patriotism from his precepts and his practice. In 1866 he predicted that before the twentieth century would have run the quarter of its course this country would have a population of twenty millions, that the vast plains beyond the Great Lakes would be the granary of the world, and that the whistle of the steam-engine, heard on the sea-board at Halifax, would scare the eagles from their nests in the Rockies. Forty years have gone past, the twentieth century has yet two decades to run before it reaches the quarter of its course, and already—save as to the population—these predic-

tions have been fulfilled. And every national indication now points to the entire fulfilment before 1925. Then we may have three, four, yes, five, transcontinental lines of railway, while to-day all the greatest achievements of the navigators and the travellers of past centuries are cast into insignificance by a single Canadian company (the C.P.R.) sending the son of its President completely around the world, without once leaving, either by land or by sea, the line of that all-British-Canadian company.

McGee wished to have buried in the waves of the Atlantic all the prejudices and animosities of the Old World and to see the different races in Canada, even as streams blend in the sea, commingle in the great ocean of a truly Canadian nationhood. He preached tolerance and broad-minded sympathy for those who might differ from us religiously or otherwise. He wished to see all enmities uprooted, and for all time. Thomas Francis Meagher tells of a splendid oak that he beheld on the banks of the Missouri. Its trunk was heavy with the rings of age, its branches extensive, its leaves variegated with the hues of autumn; but the roots that peeped out from the bank were white and glistening, like the bones of a dead caravan in the desert. The waters had gradually eaten away the clay that held the monarch of the forest erect; and soon a spring tide would come to sweep away the remainder of that earth; then the tree would fall into the stream, its branches be broken, and it would be swept on, from rock to rock, until, some fifty miles below, it would be cast upon some dull swamp to perish and be forgotten.

Such seems to me the fate of intolerance in this land. It may seem powerful to-day; its branches may be extensive; its leaves may be tinged with the hues of prejudice. But the roots are black and bare; the stream of constitutional freedom rolls on and eats away the earth that holds it erect. A spring tide will come, and the last remnant of that clay will be swept away. Then the tree of religious rancour will fall into the stream of Time, be carried on from rapid to rapid, until, fifty years or so further down, it will be cast, a shapeless

- mass, to perish for all time on the dull swamp of human oblivion.

Sir Charles Gavan Duffy, in his "Young Ireland—1840 to 1850," says of McGee: "In Canada he became the leader of the Irish immigrants, a great Parliamentary orator, and one of the founders of the new Dominion. As the Minister of a free state, he developed unexpected powers and was universally recognized as a gifted and original statesman. Success did not wean him from his early labours. While he was a Canadian politician he produced a careful and sympathetic history of Ireland, and constantly wrote verses as racy of the Irish soil as when he was a contributor to the *Nation*." Then Duffy adds: "His resistance to a Fenian invasion of a country where Irishmen were generously received and fairly treated, was not an offence, but a merit. There was no leading member of the party from Davis to Meagher, who would not have done the same. No man ever had distinguished services more grudgingly admitted.* He had gifts which placed him on a level with the best of his associates, and for years he applied them exclusively to the service of Ireland. As a poet he was not second to Davis, as an orator he possessed powers rarer and higher than Meagher's—persuasion, imagination, humour and spontaneity."

I may not be able, like McGee, to cast the horoscope of the future with the certainty of almost preternatural inspiration; but I can look up in confidence to the Providence that rules the destinies of nations, that reaches from end to end, that flashes in the lightning and speaks in the mighty volumes of the thunder, that whets the sword of justice, nerves the patriot's arm and guides the prophet's pen; I can ask that Providence to look down upon our fair Dominion, to inspire her rulers with wisdom and patriotism, that they may conduct her along the highway of progress, peace and glory. And

* The same fatuity seems to have attended McGee after his death. In all the principal works, biographical and historical, published, and in all the public addresses delivered, on the subject of Confederation, not once do we find McGee's name mentioned.

when the day comes that McGee's prophetic utterance shall find a complete fulfilment and Canada shall take her rank, on a footing of equality, amongst the nations of earth—the fairest jewel in this diadem of Empire—I would ask Him to raise up a poet-historian, a great lyrist in the land, cleanse his lips as He did those of Isaias, fill his bosom with inspirations like unto those that thrilled in the breast of the Royal Prophet, give him the vigour of Ossian, the melody of Moore, and the harmonic culture of Thomas D'Arcy McGee, that while he is praising the "Giver of all good gifts," he may worthily chant a deathless anthem of gratitude for the boundless privileges, the freedom, prosperity, contentment and happiness enjoyed by the citizens of this fair land under the glorious safeguards of our matchless constitution.

TECHNICAL EDUCATION.

Address by Mr. D. J. Goggin, M.A., D.C.L., before the Empire Club of Canada, on February 15th, 1906.

Mr. Chairman and Gentlemen,—

According to the last report available, I find that Canada imported from the United States last year \$166,000,000 worth of goods, to say nothing of what she imported from other countries. Of these imports about 40 per cent. were manufactured goods, and 20 per cent. partly manufactured. How many millions of dollars worth of these imported goods could have been made in Canada had we trained artisans to manufacture them?

Nature has equipped us for a great manufacturing country. She has provided us with magnificent water powers, great timber areas, rich mines of coal and precious metals. We have the raw materials, and these should be converted into manufactured products by trained workmen in Canadian factories. In this way we could keep our money at home, build up our own towns and industries and furnish a stable and profitable home market for our agriculturists. Later, through our skilled labour, we could enter the world's market with our surplus manufactured goods and compete successfully as we have already done with our dairy products and farm implements.

Nature has also dowered us richly as an agricultural country. Lying west of the Great Lakes are 171,000,000 acres of arable land, and only about four per cent. is yet under cultivation. Professor Saunders, of the Dominion Experimental Farm at Ottawa, has estimated that were one-fourth of the land suitable for cultivation in Manitoba, Saskatchewan and Alberta under crop with wheat, and the annual production equal to that of Manitoba for the past ten years, the total crop would be ample to supply a home demand for thirty millions of Canadians and

meet the present requirements of Great Britain three times over. This does not include the wheat crop in Ontario and the other Provinces. Professor Macoun has made a similar estimate. But new markets are opening in the far East. The Japs are beginning to substitute flour for rice as an article of food, and this example will affect the Oriental nations. Japan with a population of forty millions, China with four hundred millions, and India with three hundred millions, seem to offer to us an illimitable market for our grains in the coming years.

There has been entrusted to us a land rich beyond the conceptions of most in those natural resources out of which a great manufacturing and agricultural country is to be built up. What have we done, what are we doing, to give our Canadian youth that technical training which is absolutely necessary for the improvement of our industries and the development of our potential wealth in the fields, forests, mines and streams of Canada?

A Canadian who essays an answer to this question will have little reason to be pleased with what he will discover. He will find that largely through the generosity of that public-spirited citizen, Sir William Macdonald, of Montreal—may his tribe increase—and the energy of his very capable agent, Dr. James Robertson, manual training has been introduced into some public schools and Normal Schools in every Province of this Dominion. But it is for educative rather than trade ends that this has been done. He will, so far as I can learn, find but one technical High School in Canada, that is the Toronto School, which is seriously hampered in its work through unsuitable quarters and a somewhat niggardly support. The College at Woodstock has courses in carpentry, wood-turning, wood-carving, pattern-making, blacksmithy forging and mechanical work. There are manual training departments in about twenty cities and towns in Ontario, but the work done in them has had, and can have, under present conditions, no appreciable effect upon our manufacturing industries.

In connection with our Universities at Toronto, Kingston, Montreal and Halifax he will find schools of engineering, mining, etc., to fit men for positions as captains of industry, yet but a small fraction of one per cent. of our youth attend these schools. For the technical instruction of the great body of youth who desire to enter the various trades, no formal or adequate provision has been made either by the Provinces or the Dominion. When he turns to agriculture he will find conditions better, but by no means satisfactory. In each Province provision has been made for the instruction of public school pupils in the principles of agriculture, but the practical results are confessedly poor. There has not been a sufficiently close connection between theory and practice. To remedy this Sir William Macdonald has encouraged the making of school gardens in the Maritime Provinces, Quebec and Ontario, and has made liberal grants of money to trustees who have established them. At the end of 1904 Nova Scotia had 79 school gardens.

In New Brunswick the Government gives an extra grant of \$30.00 a year to each public school teacher qualified to give instruction in school gardening, and an extra grant of \$20.00 to the trustee of each public school having a satisfactory garden. It also awards a scholarship of \$60.00 for females, and \$75.00 for males who take a special three months' course in gardening at the Macdonald Institute at Guelph. The number is limited to eight each term. Out of the Macdonald fund these students are allowed five cents a mile for travelling expenses and a bonus of \$25.00 at the end of the course. Nova Scotia grants \$50.00 to each woman and \$75.00 to each man in attendance. It gives a grant of from \$10.00 to \$25.00 for each garden from $\frac{1}{8}$ to over $\frac{1}{4}$ acre in size. These two Provinces lead the way in the matter of instruction in agriculture for public schools.

In our High Schools there is practically no provision made for courses of instruction in agriculture, so that pupils of high school age, say, fourteen to eighteen, receive no training in this very important branch. Our

High Schools are admittedly cultural, and do not pretend to give technical education. Our Agricultural Colleges, notably that at Guelph, are doing very effective work, but the numbers in attendance are very small when compared with the total number of pupils in our schools. The influence of these colleges, through their Farmers' Institutes, Women's Institutes, experimental stations, stock-judging at fairs, etc., is of incalculable value to agriculture. If the Departments of Education and Agriculture in each Province had long ago joined forces and worked together with a common aim, agricultural education would have been much more advanced than it is to-day. Nova Scotia has recently affiliated its College of Agriculture with its Normal School. Both are situated at Truro, and will henceforth work together in training teachers, making experiments and conducting institutes.

Sir William Macdonald has purchased a large farm just outside Montreal, and is erecting buildings in which to house an Agricultural College for Quebec, and, it is expected, the new McGill Normal School. There is to be close connection between the Colleges of Agriculture and Pedagogy, so that the schools may be furnished with teachers prepared to give practical, as well as theoretical instruction in agriculture. I look for excellent results from the work of this institution in which Sir William is so deeply interested. Of the results of the agricultural instruction given in the Consolidated Schools recently established in Ontario and the Eastern Provinces it is too early to speak with confidence. The practical character of the instruction certainly makes for success. Notwithstanding this lack of provision for the technical training of our youth we stand surprisingly high among the nations in the scale of trade, actually ranking third. Belgium had (December 31st, 1904), counting imports and exports, a total trade proportion per head of \$144.41; the United Kingdom, \$99.63; and Canada, June 30th, 1905, \$84.30 per head.

The natural resources of a country, the character of its people, and the nature of its government have each

a distinct influence in determining its political, industrial and commercial efficiency. Less than fifty years ago we were almost wholly an agricultural community. Now our manufacturing interests sustain over one-seventh of the entire population of the Dominion, and yield an annual income greater than that derived from dairy products, field crops, fruits and vegetables. Then we were a rural people, now we are becoming an urban one. Our agricultural processes, our manufacturing methods, our commercial, professional, and social life have greatly changed during this period, and these changes necessitate changes in our curricula, methods and attitude to meet the new conditions.

With the individual as with the nation our age is essentially one of industrialism. In the seventeenth century the struggles between nations were mainly religious; in the eighteenth century political, now they are industrial. To-day the struggle is for commercial and industrial, rather than territorial supremacy, and is being fought out with tools rather than guns.

In judging of the efficiency of nations, the scope and tendency of their industrial systems is of the greatest importance. The causes of success or failure are not hidden. Without men's earnest, thoughtful co-operation the greatest wealth of natural resources may co-exist with the greatest stagnation in development. In every industry, to directive power in the leaders must be added general intelligence and mechanical skill in the operatives, if efficient service is to be obtained, progress made and success achieved. Formerly it was the function of the school to make the operative intelligent, and the work of the system of apprenticeship to give him technical skill. The school remains, performing its function, but the system of apprenticeship has practically ceased to exist in our country, and no efficient substitute for it has been provided.

The educationist desiring an all-round development of his pupil, the agriculturist interested in the preparation of his children for effective service on the farm and in the home, the manufacturer and the merchant increas-

ingly dependent upon expert help, the country concerned with the growth of its industries and the development of its trade—all have an interest in the technical training of our youth as well as in that general training of the intelligence which the schools now give.

The Canadian Manufacturers' Association has given evidence of its interest in this matter by passing a Resolution at its meeting in Quebec, September, 1905, requesting the Dominion Government to appoint a Commission to report on the best method of establishing a comprehensive, rational system of Technical Education to provide Canadian industry and commerce with trained assistants from among the Canadian people and thereby aid in developing Canadian industry. The Census of 1901 shows that the manufacturing interests supply direct employment to about 350,000 persons, sustain nearly a million souls, spend annually four hundred millions, and produce annually about five hundred million dollars worth of goods. As Ontario produces over half the manufactured goods in the Dominion her interest in the movement may be understood and her duty to do something in her own behalf properly estimated. The problem of Technical Education is not a new one. Germany, France, England and the United States have each made contributions towards its solution. A study of what they have accomplished will help us to deal more intelligently with our own problems.

GERMANY.—The fundamental principle of the German educational system is, broadly, to train youths to be efficient economic units. Government in Germany is centralized and, to a large extent, dominated by the Kaiser, who takes the keenest interest in education. Germany has no free lands within her borders on which to settle her sons, no great colonies to receive her surplus population, no wealth of raw material such as the United States and ourselves have, no vast domestic market to encourage home manufactures. Her people are not specially gifted with inventive ability or artistic temperament, yet within the memory of men now living she has attained to the front rank among the great industrial

nations. By her skill she has not only kept her own markets, but she has won a pre-eminent place in the markets of the world. "Made in Germany" is a label, the significance of which is appreciated by statesman and workmen alike.

It is through her system of education that this has been accomplished. The schoolmaster is the basis of Germany's commercial and industrial success. There is a compulsory education course in the Primary and Secondary schools planned to produce intelligent citizens through thorough training in a comparatively limited number of subjects. This cultured training is supplemented by industrial training given in elementary and higher trade schools supported by the State, by local guilds, and by industrial corporations. In these trade schools instruction of practical value in every commercial and industrial calling is given. Above these trade schools are nine Technical High Schools similar in standing to our School of Practical Science or Guelph Agricultural College. These train men as engineers, chemists, physicists, architects, etc.—captains of industry—and the Imperial Government makes an annual grant of \$90.00 a student.

Crowning the Technical Educational system of Germany are the scientific departments of twenty-one Universities towards which the Imperial Government makes an annual grant of \$155.00 a student. Germany has also a system of evening schools to supply either general education or instruction in trades, so that a workman may, after his day's work is over, improve himself and fit himself for higher positions. The aim is to develop intellectually each individual—and raise him to the point of highest industrial and commercial efficiency; and distinct provision is made for the training of the director, the foreman, and the operative. So the efficient units are organized into effective corps of workers under skilled captains of industry. Is it a matter of surprise that Germany is industrially efficient? Twenty years ago an English Trade Journal said:

That State which possesses the best industrial schools will be master of the world's market. . . . It is Technical Education which has enabled France to supply us with a considerable portion of printed cretonnes, calicoes, and other textile fabrics, together with bronzes and articles in which art is involved ; it is technical education which enables Savoy to send us yarns, which enables Belgium to supplant our spinners to a great extent in both woollen and worsted yarns ; it is technical education which has taught thy chemists of Germany to supply this country with four-fifths of all the aniline dye-stuffs used by our dyers and printers. These obtain nearly all their supplies of raw materials from London, Hull and Leith, whence they are shipped *via* Rotterdam up the Rhine, only to be returned to this country in the shape of dyes ready for use. Two of these establishments employ between them about 25,000 hands, and have about 60 laboratories for investigation, research, and for testing colours, dyes, etc. The success of these and similar works abroad is due to the superior scientific skill employed in them, both as regards principals and assistants, and not to a cheaper system of labour than that which exists in England. A thorough study of the subject one is working in is the true way to success.

To one feature of the German system I wish to draw special attention. Trade teaching is not permitted to encroach upon the elementary school course in which the pupils are, from 6 to 14 years of age. Technical Education, whether for commerce, agriculture, industries or trade, is reserved for pupils who have passed through the elementary school ; that is, for children of from 14 to 18 years of age, or for those who have completed a secondary school course and are 16 years of age or over. A trained intelligence is the best basis on which to build technical skill. Let me supplement this general statement by a sketch of the technical instruction given in one city in Germany. Munich is a city in Bavaria of about half a million inhabitants. It has a remarkably efficient system of elementary technical trade schools for apprentices in the trade and in business. I quote from a description given by Prof. Hanus in the *Boston Transcript*, in October, 1905 :

The city now maintains thirty-eight different kinds of these schools, as follows : In 1900 were opened schools for butchers, bakers, shoemakers, chimney-sweeps, and barbers ; in 1901 for wood-turners, glaziers, gardeners, confectioners, waggon-makers,

and blacksmiths, tailors, photographers, interior decorators, painters' materials; in 1902, for hotel and restaurant waiters, coachmen, painters, and paper-hangers, bookbinders, potters, and stove-setters, watchmakers and clockmakers, and jewellers, goldsmiths and silversmiths; in 1903, for foundrymen, pewterers, coppersmiths, tinsmiths, plumbers, stucco workers and marble cutters, woodcarvers, saddlers and leather workers; and in 1905, for business apprentices, printers and typesetters, lithographers and engravers, building iron and ornamental-iron workers, machine makers, mechanics, cabinet makers, masons and stone-cutters, carpenters. The industries represented by these schools are the chief industries of the City of Munich, with one exception—beer—for the manufacture of which, only, higher instruction is given under other auspices.

In addition to these schools which are for boys, there is a large technical school for girls, in which is given training for household or domestic science, or for business. The subjects of study are selected with a view to furnishing a good education, a good technical education, and a good education in the rights and duties of citizenship. It is interesting to note that each school is in charge of a committee responsible to the general school authorities. On this committee are representatives from the trade or business for which the school stands; and always representatives from the teaching force. In this way the school is kept in close touch with the trade or business which it serves.

It is universally recognized in Germany that efficiency in any calling, from chimney-sweeping to watchmaking, requires special training for that particular calling. In the small State of Saxony, with a population little over 4,000,000, there are 287 industrial schools giving instruction in 28 different trades or industries, and providing for pupils in each of the five grades from the elementary to the advanced. In Hesse there is not a single village, no matter how small, which has not an industrial school. They are under the direction of the Minister of the Interior. What an immense advantage it would be to Canada, with its wealth of raw material, if we had such technical schools in which to train into efficient industrial units that body of our youth between the ages of fourteen and eighteen that does not attend any school! In 1881 the

total German emigration was over 220,000 a year. There has been a steady decrease till in 1905 it was not quite 28,000. Yet Germany's population has during recent years increased at the rate of 800,000 annually. Germans stay at home doubtless because of the extraordinary economic developments of the country during the past ten years and because of the improved social status of the day labourers.

FRANCE.—With the time at my disposal I can but glance at the system of technical education obtained in France. The programme put in force by the law of 1886 showed a desire to provide schools for general instruction that would meet also industrial demands. Some of the cities established another class of schools distinctly industrial or commercial in character. The law of 1892 differentiated general and technical training still further by the establishment of a new class of High Schools, by Schools of Commerce and Industry. The State also maintains four national schools intended as models for the complete education of the industrial classes. "These four state schools and the schools of commerce and industry form, with the numerous trade schools, schools of agriculture, and the higher technical schools for which France is justly celebrated, a complete system of special training adapted to every form of industrial demand." These schools of commerce and industry are supported by the combined efforts of the State and the Communes. They are under dual control of the Minister of Commerce and the Minister of Public Instruction.

ENGLAND.—In England there is no system of state schools such as we find in Germany and France. It is a mixed system embracing church schools and board schools. There has not been an adequate recognition of the relations of a national system of education to industrial and commercial development. Schools of the type of Eton, Harrow and Rugby have bred, as no other schools ever have, leaders of nations, governors of subject races, but they have not been successful in producing organizers of industry—men who can open out new

markets and hold their own in the fierce struggle for commercial existence. The great public schools in England have hardly begun to realize the demands of modern science and industry. In the elementary Board Schools manual training, sewing, cooking, etc., have their place alongside of reading, writing, etc., but they have not been continued in the higher schools in any effective way. There has been no national organized effort.

Competition with Germany has aroused the nation to the necessity of providing technical instruction for its artisans and, largely through local initiative, night schools, trade schools and technical schools have been established to produce skilled artisans. During the fiscal year 1902-1903 over one million pounds were expended in England and Wales on technical schools. The comprehensive and suggestive reports of Mr. Michael E. Sadler upon the Secondary and Higher Education given in Liverpool and Sheffield, and the detailed report of Mr. Sidney Webb, chairman of the Technical Education Board of London Polytechnics, reveal the nature and extent of the efforts made by the citizens of these three great cities to furnish efficient technical education. These reports are also valuable as illustrating the character of a movement which is rapidly becoming national in its scope.

UNITED STATES.—In the United States there are many public schools where Manual Training has been introduced. Children from 10 to 14 years of age take it as a physical and mental gymnastic—never for its trade uses. In nearly every large city there are one or more Manual Training High Schools, where manual training is required of every boy. There are also many High Schools where it is available as an optional study. These schools provide a general course in manual training for purely educative purposes. They serve as fitting schools for higher technical schools. They also give technical instruction to those aiming at becoming foremen—men ranking between the mechanic and the engineer.

The manual training schools do not aim to teach a

boy a trade, but the training he receives there will enable him to earn a living when he leaves school. The English High and Manual Training School, Chicago; the Mechanic Arts High School, Boston; the Yeatman High School, St. Louis, and the Manual Training High School in Springfield, Massachusetts, are representative schools of this class. In Springfield the Manual Training High School is also used as an evening trade school, for the broader training of youths or men already at work at their trades; but even in this school a part of each evening is devoted to academic instruction. It is important to train the man as well as the mechanic.

Many pupils of these schools proceed to higher courses in such technical schools as the Armour Institute, Chicago; the Drexel Institute, Philadelphia; and the Pratt Institute, New York. If the shop practice in these Institutes were made more nearly equal to the instruction given in theory and principles they would be of greater service to their students. There are then four types of educational institutions in the United States which help to educate youths and men for mechanical industries:

(1) The manual training departments in public and high schools.

(2) Technical Schools, of which the Pratt Institute, the Drexel Institute and the Armour Institute are representatives.

(3) The practice departments in Engineering Colleges and Universities, of which the Massachusetts Institute of Technology and the Worcester Polytechnic Institute are types.

(4) Trade schools which aim primarily at teaching trades. The New York Trade School, the Williamson Free School of Mechanical Trades in Pennsylvania, the Textile Schools at Philadelphia and Lowell, and the Manhattan Trade School for Girls are types. Practically all these have been founded by private munificence.

The present trend of opinion in the United States appears to favour the establishment of a Manual Training or Technical High School in each of the larger cities, with a course three or four years in length—each

pupil being allowed to specialize in some line of shop work, so that when he leaves school he shall be able to support himself. In the shops of the technical high schools provision is made for evening classes in which instruction in trades is given to apprentices and workmen. There is also a growing recognition of the need for a trade school for the instruction of the youths who are fourteen years or over, and who cannot attend a high school. Academic and trade instruction should be combined in such a school.

If we next turn to agricultural education we find in almost every state in Europe gardens attached to schools. The German school gardens furnish a direct means of teaching school children how to raise vegetables, cultivate flowers, and learn the flora of their own province. These gardens enable pupils to study the life history of vegetables and flowers and furnish materials for botanical studies in the higher classes.

Bohemia has 4,500 such gardens; Sweden, 5,000; Austro-Hungary, 20,000; France, 30,000, and no school established in a rural district since 1887 can receive government aid unless it has a school garden. Since 1873 every school in Holland must have its school garden. In Southern Russia almost every form of economic gardening is carried on. In Ontario there are but *six regularly* established and conducted school gardens!

In the United States the school garden idea is developing in the cities. The George Putnam School in Boston has carried on garden work for years, and the Boston Normal School trains its teachers in practical garden work. In Illinois the rural school garden as a mode of industrial training is considered a marked success. Wisconsin is the leader in agricultural instruction for pupils of high school grade. This State has established County High Schools of Agriculture and Domestic Economy to give instruction in these subjects and in the ordinary High School branches. It has provided that all such schools recommended by the State Inspector may receive a sum equal to two-thirds of the amount

actually expended for maintaining the school, but the total amount shall not exceed \$4,000 to any one school in any one year. The county provides the school and pays one-third of its yearly expenses. With properly equipped teachers of agriculture, manual training, and domestic economy, each school becomes a potent centre of interest in the county. There are short winter courses for the older boys and girls who are busy on the farms during the summer, and special work adapted to their needs is provided for them. Similar work is done in Minnesota and Dakota.

In our brief survey of the Educational Courses of these countries we have seen that while the emphasis is differently placed, there is a recognition of a two-fold need in education—to prepare the youth to live a life, and to make a living—and no education that fails to provide for both can be called an efficient education. In Ontario schools 77 per cent. of the pupils leave when they have completed the work of the third class, that is, at thirteen years of age; and 96 per cent. do not pass beyond the fourth book stage. Any course of study that we may plan for our public schools must take into account what can be accomplished within the life of a child from six to thirteen years of age, or at most, fifteen years of age. We know what in the main will be the occupations of this 77 or 96 per cent. of our children. The boys will find their life work on the farm, or in mercantile or manufacturing establishments.

A farmer has, I think, the right to expect that in the rural schools the pupils should be taught in an effective way those studies which make for general intelligence, and also those things which tend to retain the boy's interest in farm life, and help to make him a skilled agriculturist; and if he asks that something shall be done to prepare girls for that domestic life which the great majority of them are to live, shall we say that he is asking too much? Are we not in some respects now preparing these girls for the office rather than the home? The manufacturer asks that in addition to a knowledge of the traditional subjects, reading, writing etc., the boy

shall be reasonably proficient in the use of the common tools and have the manual skill that the ordinary course in Manual Training gives.

It seems to me that in the interests of both classes, as well as in the interests of the pupils, it is time to give greater prominence to the economic motive in education. I would be the last to characterize a literary education as unpractical—for the living of a worthy life it is intensely practical—but some other things are needed for the making of a man. It ought to be made as easy in our educational system for a pupil who wishes to enter a technical school or technological institute in order to become a skilled craftsman—a machinist, carpenter, or mason—as it now is to enter upon the study of law, medicine, or theology. By eradicating industrial incapacity and substituting skill therefore we shall be increasing the wages of all classes, developing wealth in many forms, and enlarging the well-being of the whole country.

I think we need in every rural school a course of instruction in elementary agriculture. We need a school garden with its common plot, its individual plot, and its experimental plot. We need at least the single work bench to increase the manual dexterity of the pupils, to teach them the effective use of the common tools, and to enable them to make the articles needed in industrial work. We need in each township one larger school, where, under the guidance of an agricultural expert, a room can be set apart for a short course in agriculture during the winter months, for students who have left school; and during the year for students who wish to take a fuller course. We need in every county one Industrial High School, and in every city large enough to maintain two or more High Schools, one should be organized as a Technical High School with sessions during the evening for apprentices and workers in trades who may wish to add either to their technical skill or to their general intelligence.

We have never made that use of night schools in rural communities that we should make in the interests of

young people between fourteen and eighteen years of age. Correspondence schools are flourishing because of our failure in this respect. Many thousands of dollars go annually from Canadian pockets to American Correspondence Classes for instruction that could be better given in evening classes in each county town or village. Funds for the support of Polytechnic Institutes and practical science departments of our Universities should be supplied by grants from the Dominion Government which is primarily interested in Trade and Commerce, and by grants from the Local Government. Funds for the support of technical or industrial High Schools should be supplied by grants from the Local Government, and from the towns or cities in which they are situated and the counties which they serve. By the Morrell Act of 1862 and Acts amendatory of it, about 10,000,000 acres of land were allotted for the endowment of agricultural and mechanical colleges in the United States. There are now 65 Colleges of Agriculture and the Mechanic Arts (land-grant colleges) receiving aid directly from the United States National Government. The annual grant of \$25,000 each is restricted to maintenance, and each State in which such college is situated, makes provision for sites, buildings, apparatus, etc.

In Germany, in England, and in France the general government works with the local government in building up these technical schools and colleges which have so much to do with the remarkable industrial development of the last fifty years. The question of expense is secondary to that of our children's needs and our own needs—agricultural, industrial and commercial. We now pay large sums to support our penal and reformatory institutions. We would have to pay less if we had done as much for the training of the hands as we have for the training of the heads. It is the man without a trade or profession who is most susceptible to evil influences.

Municipalities have bonded themselves to bonus factories and railways; Provincial Governments and the Dominion Government have not hesitated to mortgage the future in order to secure development and progress.

in the present. If we bonded ourselves to provide one good agricultural public school in each township, one good industrial high school in each county, and technical schools where they are needed, the beneficial results to our youth, and the financial results to our Province through improved agriculture, manufactures, and commerce, would, in the lifetime of one or two generations, more than pay the cost, and succeeding generations would bless our foresight, and emulate our example. When we pay \$13,000,000 a year in Canada for education and \$14,000,000 a year as *revenue* on the liquor we drink and the tobacco we smoke, dare we say we are over-taxed for education, or that we cannot afford to provide for technical instruction for our children? Let us get into close quarters with these problems. Let our educational and business leaders get into as close touch with the people as the men of the Agricultural College at Guelph have with the farmers, and the money problem will be easy of solution.

The future commercial greatness of our country, our ability to make the most of our immense natural resources, our power to obtain and hold a place in the markets of the world, are conditioned by the character and variety of the provisions we make for the technical training of our youth. Local effort must be supplemented by liberal Provincial and Dominion assistance. Our need is great; our opportunity, now.

BRITAIN'S EXPERIENCE OF PUBLIC OWNERSHIP.

Address by Mr. W. Richmond Smith, lately Editor of the *Toronto News*, before the Empire Club, of Canada, on February 22nd, 1906.

Mr. President and Gentlemen,—

At the very beginning, I wish to state, and emphasize the statement, that I am a firm believer in the principle of municipal ownership of all essential public utilities. Further, I regard it as little short of criminal for any Municipal Council to part with the ownership and ultimate control of a franchise involving the use of the streets for the creation of a public service used by a majority of the citizens. A public utility is a service created to supply a convenience to the citizens which involves the use of its public streets in the construction of a permanent plant for the supplying of that service. An essential public utility is a service created to supply a necessary public need, which involves the use of the public streets, and which is used by a majority of the ratepayers. Essential public utilities are confined to services for the supply of water, sewage facilities, light, and urban transportation by street cars. There are no other public services, involving the use of the streets, which are generally used by the citizens to such an extent that, was the service given by the municipality, the cost or any portion of the cost could without injustice be made a charge upon the general tax rate.

The water supply and sewerage systems of any municipality ought, in my opinion, to be both owned and operated by the municipality, under the supervision and amenable to the instructions of the Medical Health Department, because both these services are universally used, and are prime essentials to public health. It is entirely a secondary matter how much a pure water

supply and an adequate sewerage system costs, because both are a matter of life and death to the community.

While holding strongly to the principle that the equity of redemption in and ultimate control of all franchises for the establishment of public services which involve the use of the streets should remain vested in the municipality, I believe that sound municipal administration dictates that no municipality has any right to undertake the conduct of a public service which is not used by at least a majority of the ratepayers, for in the event of such a service being conducted at a loss, that loss is bound to be met out of the revenue raised from a general tax rate. This sound rule is, I know, continually ignored, and successful municipal enterprises outside its restrictions are constantly urged in justification, but the fact remains that once a municipality ignores this rule, over-municipalization is almost bound to be the result, and over-municipalization always has and always will work a great injustice to the poorest ratepayers in the community, and strike at the very root of municipal credit. It is because I am firmly convinced of this, after a close and careful study of municipally-conducted enterprises in Great Britain, that I am here to-day.

I know that my opinions on the question are not popular with a large number of people in Toronto, to whom the conduct of public services by the municipality is regarded as a panacea for all the ills which result, or which are assumed to result, from existing conditions. The fact remains, however, that the result of over-municipalization of public utilities has struck a serious blow at the whole fabric of municipal credit in Great Britain, despite the fact that such municipal enterprises are subject to the closest supervision and the severest restrictions of the Imperial Parliament at Westminster. We in Canada must remember that the popular desire for municipally-conducted public services was felt in the Mother Country long before the idea had birth in Canada. It is most important, therefore, if we are to profit by experience on this question, that serious attention should be paid to the experience of Great Britain,

bearing in mind always that the safeguards thrown around such enterprises by the National Government there have no parallel whatever in our country.

Before even attempting to draw a parallel between the results of municipally-conducted enterprises in Great Britain and similar undertakings in Canada, it is absolutely necessary to estimate and appreciate the wide difference in both general and local conditions, otherwise the comparison is bound to rest upon a most misleading and fallacious basis. The first of these essential differences in conditions lie in the source from which all municipal legislation emanates. In Great Britain the central Parliament at Westminster is the sole and only source, while in Canada the right to legislate for all rural and urban communities is vested in the Provincial Legislatures. Without going into all the reasons why, it seems obvious that the fact that all British municipal legislation emanates from the central Parliament, which is, of course, free from all sectional prejudices, gives it an atmosphere of judicial fairness which could not be expected in similar legislation in Canada which emanates from Provincial Legislatures in which rural and urban jealousies and sectional differences play so important a part.

The constitution of the Mother Country is the result of the gradual evolution of representative institutions from the comparative absolutism of a paternal monarchy. It is not written in a single document, but is contained in a multitude of Parliamentary enactments upbuilt into a system of government as the process of evolution proceeded. The system of local government in the United Kingdom as it at present exists, was evolved in the same manner as the constitution, was in fact an essential and component part of the results of the great struggle of the English people for a representative system of national government. The Canadian Constitution is contained within the four corners of an Act of the Imperial Parliament. That Act clearly and specifically defines the legislative powers and duties of the Federal and Provincial Parliaments.

In the British system of local government, gradually evolved from the experience of the past and carefully upbuilt in accordance with modern democratic institutions to suit every local condition, we have a system which contains all the wisdom of the old with all the utilitarianism and democratic vigour of the young, combined with a remarkable adaptability to local conditions and even local prejudices. In Canada, though our system of local government was fashioned after that of the Mother Country with changes made to adapt it to different conditions, it is but a very imperfect and ready-made article when compared to its prototype.

The greater adaptability of the British system, the wealth of experience which lies in the statutory evolution of its upbuilding, enables the British Parliament to so perfect the mechanism of the system that the public interests are more closely safeguarded and more adequately served than under our less adaptable system in Canada.

The manner in which Municipal Councils are constituted under the specific terms of general Parliamentary enactments in Great Britain, ensures a degree of uniformity and continuity of municipal policy which does not exist under our Canadian system. All Municipal Councils in England consist of a mayor, aldermen and councillors. The councillors are elected for a term of three years, and a third of the number go out of office each year. The number of the Council is fixed by charter, and varies widely, though it is usually more or less in proportion to the size of the municipality. The councillors are elected by the popular vote of the ratepayers for a three-year term, and the aldermen by the councillors and non-retiring alderman for a six-year term. The duly elected councillors and alderman together elect the mayor, who holds office for one year only. The office of councillor is regarded as a kind of apprenticeship, and a councillor has to be elected perhaps two or three times before he is regarded as eligible to sit upon the aldermanic bench. There is no distinction between the duties of a councillor and an alderman, except the length of

their terms of office. The mayor has no administrative duties except those which come to him through custom. He is simply the official representative of the municipality, and the presiding head of the Council.

Continuity of personality and municipal policy is favoured by the retirement of councillors by thirds. This is further assisted by the aldermanic system. Instead of the aldermen retiring simultaneously, one-half of the whole number go out of office every third year, the half to go out being the aldermen who have been in office for the longest period without re-election. Each councillor and non-retiring alderman has as many votes as there are aldermanic seats to be filled. The outgoing half of the aldermen may not vote, but the half who remain in office may. This provision is an extreme example of that desire for continuity of municipal policy which pervades the English system of municipal government. The result is often that when parties are nearly evenly divided the party in office, with the help of the non-retiring aldermen, can often obtain a fresh lease of power, although the elections have placed it in a minority as regards popularly elected councillors.

Whether such a general system would harmonize with the conditions under which municipalities are constituted in Canada is an open question, but it seems fairly evident that the English system gives a much greater amount of continuity of policy than the system under which we in Canada work. Continuity of policy is one of the first essentials to the successful management of a commercial undertaking, whether in the hands of a private company or an elective Municipal Council. It is inconceivable, for instance, that a commercial undertaking like the Canadian Pacific or the Grand Trunk Railway Company could be successfully conducted by a Board of Directors whose *personnel* and policy changed each year, as the personnel and policy of our Municipal Councils in Canada do. In addition to the general safeguard which results from the fact that all municipal legislation is vested in the central Parliament at Westminster, the British municipal system possesses another

and extremely important means of control over the tendency of individual municipalities to embark in undertakings considered unwise in the public interests. The gradual evolution of the municipal system has resulted in the creation of a special department of the central Government known as the Local Government Board, which has power to inspect the finances and administration of all Municipal Councils, to keep itself informed of the work of such Councils, compel them to furnish proper statistics, and to exercise certain statutory rights of confirmation or refusal in respect, for example, of local loans or by-laws, and generally to see that they confine their business and expenditures to the purposes and within the limits prescribed by Parliament. The power of regulation by order is also possessed by the board as an auxiliary to that of inspection; but it is only exercised within limits strictly defined by statute. Broadly speaking the board performs its functions as a guardian of the public rights and interests without resorting to the imperative mood. Though it has no power to compel a local authority to carry out the law, or refrain from breaking it, that power is usually exercised by it through the medium of the courts by issue of a writ of mandamus or by obtaining an injunction. It can only venture to use administrative force in exceptional cases defined by statutes and under forms duly authorized by law. Inspection taken in its widest sense, so as to include enquiry as well as supervision and control, is the ordinary function of the board, and it is under the form of inspection that the administrative interference of the central authority in the province of local government usually manifests itself.

There is another permanent department of the central Government which exercises practically the same functions with respect to certain departments of municipal administration as the Local Government Board. The Board of Trade is charged, among other things, with supervision of the administration of all general laws dealing with public safety, the rates charged for public services, such as lighting and tramway locomotion,

whether supplied by a municipal corporation or a private company. In this way we have the anomaly of the Local Government Board supervising the finances and the Board of Trade the administration of some of the enterprises of municipalities.

The abundance of wealth in the Mother Country always seeking investment has in the past made it an easy matter for even the smaller municipalities to borrow money at low rates of interest. This facility for obtaining cheap money has been a strong incentive to municipalities to launch out into extensive commercial and trading ventures under publicly-owned franchises. The result has been that the funded municipal debt of the country has increased by leaps and bounds. The rate of increase has been so great that during the session of Imperial Parliament in 1900 the matter was brought to the attention of the Government, and strong opinions were expressed, to the effect that the popular demand of municipalities for power to go into all sorts of municipal enterprises on their own account was so rapidly increasing the municipal debt that it was becoming a menace to the whole structure of municipal credit. The immediate result of this discussion was the appointment of a joint Select Committee of the House of Lords and the House of Commons to enquire into the whole question of the commercial trading done by municipalities and its effect upon municipal credit. This Committee held a series of sittings in 1900. It was shown that as a result of the popular desire of municipalities to conduct undertakings under publicly-owned franchises the municipal debt of the country had increased from \$866,015,000 in 1885 to the stupendous sum of \$1,583,510,000 in 1901, or about 56 per cent. of the proportions of the total national debt at that time. It was also shown that the municipal system of auditing accounts enabled Municipal Councils to cover up for years the unprofitable nature of undertakings conducted under publicly-owned franchises. The Committee in its first report to Parliament recommended the institution at once of a new system of audit of municipal accounts under Government control.

If such an enormous increase in the funded municipal debt of the Mother Country could result when safeguards, the result of centuries of experience, are thrown around the undertakings of Municipal Councils in the interest of the ratepayers, both with regard to administration and finance, what would be the result in Canada, when we have not one-tenth the safeguards and no supervision by a central Government whatever over either the administration or finances of such municipally-conducted undertakings, and no system at all of Government control of municipal audit?

There is another point of general comparison which is so important that it must be mentioned before I leave this phase of the question, and that is the class of men who are elected to make up the boards of councillors and aldermen of Municipal Councils in the Mother Country. It is well known that in Great Britain such Councils are as a rule composed of men who, while graduates from the business world, are to a greater or less extent men with sufficient time at their disposal to give municipal affairs the closest attention.

Municipal honours are more highly prized than in Canada by the class of men whose services are most to be desired in municipal management, and thus it is found in many cases that men whose names are widely known in commerce, in professional circles, and in the higher branches of politics are serving upon the Municipal Councils in their home communities. Such a condition is impossible in a young country like Canada, where the most able men are usually so fully occupied in business or professional life that they consider themselves unable to spare much time in the service of the civic community in which they live. The result of this condition undoubtedly is that Municipal Councils in Canada are not as a rule composed of men so well equipped to deal with broad questions of finance and administration as are those of the Mother Country.

The question whether a municipality should create and conduct public services outside water and sewage cannot be decided upon any consideration of principle. It is simply a matter of business and public expediency.

What the public has a right to expect is that it should get the greatest possible return from the capital invested in what is essentially a business enterprise, owned, established and conducted for the ratepayers. Under exceptional circumstances it is quite possible to conceive of a municipality creating and conducting its essential public services along business lines, which would ensure a better service and a larger monetary return than could be obtained from a private company working the same enterprise under a terminable lease. It must be admitted however, that experience has shown that elected Municipal Councils, even in the Mother Country, are not able to secure as satisfactory results from the conduct of commercial enterprises as can be secured by well organized private companies. The reasons are many and obvious. In the first place, a commercial enterprise conducted by an elected Council, which is continually changing its *personnel*, cannot have the same continuity of policy and the same determined and persistent striving along well-thought-out and permanent lines. In the second place, an elected Council which owes its existence to the popular vote of the ratepayers, including the customers and employees of the enterprise, is compelled continually to sacrifice what it knows to be sound business methods of management to public opinion.

It is quite true that it ought not to be the sole object of a municipality to operate its public services so as to make money, but it certainly ought to be the object of every Council to give the ratepayers the best service that can be had at the lowest cost. In order to do that a good business management is just as essential as it is with a private company. Taking into account the disastrous experience of the Mother Country in the municipal conduct of public services, and remembering the safeguards to the public interests which exist there and do not exist in Canada, I am firmly convinced that municipalities in this country can secure better services and greater monetary returns by having their public utilities conducted under lease by private companies. In addition, they would escape the unhappy experiences of the Mother Country due to over-municipalization as a result

of the popular demand which so often follows the taking over by a municipality of the conduct of even its most essential public services.

It will doubtless be pointed out that the experience of municipalities in Canada in dealing with private companies for the conduct of their public services has not been in many cases satisfactory, and that private companies always insist upon giving the municipalities the worst end of the bargain. That is doubtless true in many cases, but who is to blame? The municipality is the proprietor and the operating company the employee. To my mind the trouble has always lain in the settlement of the terms of the lease under which the private company works. Here is the crux of the whole question. If the lease is properly drawn so that the company can be legally held to fulfil its conditions, and those conditions are so worded as to give the municipality a good service and fair monetary returns, there ought to be no serious trouble. And one thing is absolutely obvious, if a Municipal Council has not the public spirit and business ability to frame such a lease as will give satisfaction to the ratepayers, both with regard to the service given and the monetary returns, it certainly will not have the public spirit and business ability to conduct that service in the interest of the ratepayers. In the drawing of the lease there is only one occasion where mistakes can be made; in the conduct of a public service there are a thousand opportunities for mistake every year.

The differences in local conditions in the various cities of the United Kingdom which make for the success of municipally-conducted enterprises are almost as important as the differences in general conditions. They, too, must be taken into consideration before fair comparisons can be instituted with municipally-conducted undertakings in any Canadian city. Take the City of Glasgow, for instance, With its locally governed outlying suburbs, all of which are served by the municipally-conducted services of the city, it has a gross population of something over a million. According to the last

Census returns, the city itself had a population of 780,000, and this large population is confined within the extraordinary small area of 12,700 acres. The population of the City of Toronto is somewhere about 260,000, and its superficial area, exclusive of water, is 10,800 acres. This concentration of the population in Glasgow is due to several causes, the principal being the confinement of the city proper within a belt of suburban municipalities, which have always stubbornly held to their own autonomy, and compelled the city to grow back into itself instead of expanding its bounds, as our Canadian cities do. The result is a tremendous massing of population, especially in the poorer districts, where there are literally miles of streets crowded with huge apartment houses, which swarm like rabbit warrens with thousands of families who live in one or two rooms. Even among the well-to-do wage-earning class the same predilection for flat-houses is very marked, and even in the best residential districts it is possible to see whole streets occupied by terrace after terrace of flat-houses of a better sort, where dozens of families use a common stairway to reach their apartments. In nearly every large centre of population in Great Britain the same conditions exist.

This massing of population within restricted areas gives an enormous advantage in supplying such public utilities as water, light, tramways, which are used by a large majority of the ratepayers. Not only is the capital outlay in all cases smaller, considering the numbers of the population served, but the source of revenue per mile of service is very much greater than it could be in any of our Canadian cities. The City of Glasgow is admittedly one of the best-governed cities in the world. The ablest and most influential citizens regard it as an honour to sit around the Council Board and contribute largely of their time and business experience in the administration of the city's affairs. Glasgow is not suffering from maladministration of its affairs, but from an over-indulgence in municipalization, carried into the realm of speculative enterprises, which always involves the investment of a large amount of capital and the

running of many risks. There is scarcely any limit to Glasgow's municipal activity. It runs scores of municipal enterprises of all kinds, and this fact is the principal cause of an enormous increase in the city debt, which rose from \$27,240,135 in 1890 to \$64,376,095 in 1900, while the assessable rentals in the city during that period only increased from \$17,277,550 to \$24,764,820. Thus, while the city's debt increased by over \$37,000,000 in that period, the assessable rentals only increased by something like \$7,500,000. In the year 1890 the rates were 12 cents on the dollar on rentals of \$50 and upwards, and 8 cents and 8 mills on the dollar on rentals of less than \$50. In the year 1900 the first rate had risen to 16 cents and 4 mills on the dollar and the second to 13 cents on the dollar.

The City of Glasgow began to supply the citizens with gas in 1869. The enterprise was one of the most conservatively run of any of the municipal undertakings. The capital expenditure has been something like \$11,000,000. All the net profits have been devoted to a fund for depreciation on plant and works, which amounts to something over \$6,500,000. Last year it was found that the reduction in the price of gas to consumers to 58 cents per 1,000 cubic feet for lighting and 50 cents for other purposes had resulted in a deficit of something over \$60,000 in a single year. It also transpired that the greater part of the depreciation on plant fund would have to be expended on extensive renewals.

Perhaps the most successful of Glasgow's municipal undertakings is its tramway system. When the first tramways were built in 1871 they were, under the terms of the initial legislation, financed on the credit of the Common Good Fund, which is really the corporate estate of the city. In 1894, when the city took over the conduct of the tramways, the enterprise continued to be financed out of the Common Good Fund. Since that time, therefore, there has always been a grim necessity why the enterprise should be a commercial and financial success. Under no circumstances could any loss sustained by the tramway enterprises become a charge upon

the general tax rates. The result of this fact was that the manager of the Glasgow tramways, even in the beginning, was given practically a free hand in the management of the undertaking. Of all the municipal enterprises in Great Britain, the Glasgow tramways are run more nearly upon the close business lines which a private company would adopt than any other. Yet the total amount of net profits paid to the credit of the Common Good Fund by the tramway undertaking since the city took it over down to 1903 was \$533,800, or about \$59,312 a year for nine years. The amount paid to the City of Toronto during the past nine years by the Toronto Railway Company for the use of its street railway franchise has been \$1,833,826, or a yearly average of \$203,758.

When it comes to a comparison of fares charged it is difficult to arrive at any basis of comparison. The Toronto Company charges three flat fares for a ride of any distance and transfers are given over all lines in the city to enable the passenger to complete his journey from the payment of a single fare. These flat fares are 4 1-6c. for an ordinary ride at any time, 3 1-6c. for rides during limited periods and on Sundays, and 2 1-2c. for children, or an average fare, exclusive of children, of about 4 1-10c. for a ride of any distance. In Glasgow there is a graduated scale of fares, beginning with 1c. for a little over half a mile, 2c. for two miles and a third, 3c. for three miles and about a half, 4c. for four miles and about a half, 5c. for five miles and almost two-thirds, 6c. for six miles and almost nine-tenths, 7c. for eight miles and almost a third, and 8c. for a fraction over nine miles. Thus the average fare paid per mile is a little less than a cent. In the second place, while the Toronto system is purely urban, that of Glasgow is urban, suburban, and inter-urban, and serves a population of 1,072,000. The length of the average ride on the Glasgow tramway system, including the suburban and inter-urban lines, is a little less than a mile. It is evident, therefore, that while a small average fare for a short average ride makes money for Glasgow tramways, because of the

congestion of the population within the city proper, the same small average fare for the same small average ride would be of no use in Toronto at all.

In Glasgow it costs 8c. to ride a fraction over nine miles, while in Toronto a ride of any distance costs 4 1-10c., with privileges of transferring, which Glasgow does not possess. It is hard to determine which of the systems of fares is the cheapest, but it is evident that the system which suits and pays in Glasgow would neither suit nor pay in Toronto.

The municipalization of the telephone service is, to my mind, one of the most dangerous experiments a large and growing community can possibly undertake. In the first place a telephone service cannot be classed as a public utility. It necessitates the use of the public streets, but it is not a service which is used by a majority of the ratepayers in any city in the world. In Toronto, for instance, there are only six telephones used to every one hundred of the population, and that is a larger proportion than in the City of New York, where the percentage is only four in the hundred. Suppose a municipal telephone service was established in Toronto, and the number of present users doubled or even trebled, would it be fair to make up deficits in the operation of that service out of the general tax rates, compelling thousands of the very poorest ratepayers to pay for the maintenance of a service they never have occasion to use? Until the cost of telephones is greatly reduced so as to bring them into general use, as lighting and street car services are used, this particular service cannot be classed as a public utility. It is very doubtful whether large and growing individual municipalities will ever be able to supply telephone services at a sufficiently low cost to bring those services into general use, because experience has shown that the cost of equipment and maintenance increases, in proportion as the number of subscribers increases, at such a rapid ratio that the cost of the telephone to the individual subscriber is likely always to remain so high as to prohibit anything like general use.

This, however, is not the only difficulty in the way of the establishment of a successful municipal telephone service in a community where the population is continually increasing and the telephone area constantly enlarging in more or less unexpected quarters, as is the case in all populous communities in Canada. The very nature of the service involves an amount of expert skill in working out progress plans of probable increases which have to be taken into consideration in the installation of plants and the arrangement of equipment; and the individual knowledge of local municipal experts, having imperfect access to the experience of similar undertakings in other and larger centres of population, might easily result in the enormous loss of capital and a consequent increase in the cost of the service.

Take the telephone problem in the City of Toronto, for instance. The telephone area consists of the city and its immediate suburbs, having an estimated population of, say, 250,000 at the present time. The Bell Telephone Company have in operation in this area some 15,000 telephones, which is equal to the proportion of six telephones for every one hundred of the population. The engineers of the Company long ago, when the number of telephones in use was much smaller than now, made a special study of local conditions with a view to determining the proper layout of a plant necessary to provide for future increases. This necessitated years ago the installation of much plant which is only now coming into use. The present progress plans of the Company are based upon the population figures for the past twenty years. As the linear rate of increase has slightly fallen off during the last decade, a flat linear rate for the future equal to that of the last decade was assumed, which brought the estimated population in 1920 up to about 375,000. Working upon the same lines, it was assumed that the telephone development will increase from six per cent. to about fifteen per cent. of telephones, which would give in 1920 a service of 56,250 telephones in the area which has now only 15,000 telephones. In the gradual working out of the telephone problem in

the City of Toronto along these lines all plant and equipment is so planned as to admit of the handling of a service comprising 56,250 telephones in 1920. If it is found that the estimated increase of demand is greater or less than the development plans show, either from experience of other companies elsewhere or from some change in local conditions which are not in accord with past experience, the development plans have to be changed. For these reasons large capital expenditures have to be made continually in plant, which is not used at all for years after it is installed, in order to provide for increases in the service which occur years after.

There is probably no service designed as a convenience to the public that is in so evolutionary a state as the telephone, and in this fact consists one of the greatest dangers of a municipal service. In connection with the American Telephone and Telegraph Company, there is an organization designed as a sort of clearing house for engineering and other expert information relating to all telephone equipment and operating methods, which is constantly referred to by the various telephone companies on this continent, including the Bell Telephone Company of Canada. The benefits of such a clearing house can hardly be estimated by anyone not familiar with the enormous mechanical difficulties of a growing telephone service, its comprehensive reports, exhaustive tests and exact information having been found absolutely essential to the economical and successful development of the telephone business. The absence of this facility would greatly increase the difficulties of a municipal service of any considerable size, owing to the costly and continuous errors which are sure to be made in the installation and equipment of a telephone system.

The experience of the City of Glasgow furnishes a good example in this connection. It was the first city in the United Kingdom to establish a municipal telephone undertaking. Seven years, from 1893 to 1900, were spent by the city in obtaining the consent of the central government, and even then a proviso was inserted in the license limiting the life of the enterprise

to thirteen years, at the end of which time, 1913, it is the intention to nationalize the telephone services of the United Kingdom.

Notwithstanding this short lease of life, the popular tendency towards municipalization at that time induced the city to proceed with the enterprise. The services of an expert were engaged, who advised the installation of a call-wire system, which has already been discarded as unsatisfactory in Philadelphia and other cities of the United States. About \$1,354,690 were expended in installing a plant with a capacity of 9,000 subscribers. Telephone rates were immediately reduced by one half as compared with those previously charged by a private company holding a franchise. As the private company, however, remained in the field, business houses were compelled to put in two telephones in order to secure the full complement of calls which the dual system afforded. It was in 1903 that the difficulties of the municipal system really began. The Council then began to discover that it had not secured the best system in the first place. Then the capacity of the plant was exhausted, and it was face to face with almost a complete renewal or substitution at a great capital expenditure in order to give a satisfactory service and provide for the increases in the number of subscribers. During a discussion in the City Council in that year over the telephone accounts, a member of the Telephone Committee, Baillie Burrell, estimated that in order to come out even at the end of the telephone lease without further capital expenditure upon plant, and taking into account the amount the city would receive from the Government when the system was taken over, it would be necessary to put away for depreciation on plant alone some \$740,000. The City Council since that time has steadfastly refused to make any large expenditure on capital account, principally because such expenditure, though necessary, would have brought down upon them the disapproval of the majority of the ratepayers, who resented the idea that a municipal enterprise, which was

used by less than one in sixty of the ratepayers, should become a charge upon the general rates.

The result to-day is that the municipal telephone system is falling into disuse, because it is unable to give a satisfactory service and meet the increasing demands made upon it. I was told in Glasgow last summer that the city stood to lose a million dollars upon its municipal telephone undertaking when the system was taken over by the Government in 1913, even after making a fair allowance for all that could fairly be expected in the way of compensation. The initial mistake that Glasgow made was in reducing the telephone rates to subscribers to the actual cost of running what afterwards proved to be an inadequate exchange, but want of success was also due to lack of experience, though Glasgow's municipal enterprises are supposed to be the most successful of any city in the world.

In this country the case of Winnipeg illustrates the difficulties which face even an expert telephone organization in providing for the wants of a growing community, and gives some conception of what a municipality would have to contend with under similar conditions. In 1896 the Bell Company erected a building and installed a switchboard and plant designed to carry the traffic for six years. After four years it became necessary to install a new switchboard, which was expected to last ten years. The estimated rate of increase continued for only two years, when a wholly unexpected demand for telephones arose, with the result that at the end of five years the capacity of the plant which had been expected to last ten years was exhausted. The Company is now extending its building and putting in a third switchboard, differing from the old one in nothing but its greater capacity for subscribers' lines.

Thus it happens that within a period of ten years the telephone development of Winnipeg has involved the installing of three distinct central office plants. The Bell Company, because it does a general business, can use the old boards elsewhere, and thus reduce the loss

on plant to a minimum, which the municipality could not do. The fact remains, however, that had the telephone service of Winnipeg been a municipal undertaking the progress of the past ten years would have necessitated a capital expenditure far larger than could possibly have been foreseen when the undertaking was commenced.

Summarizing the results of municipal ownership, as applied to a telephone service, my own observations have led me to the following conclusions. There are, both in Great Britain, the United States and Canada, many small communities which operate municipal services at comparatively low rates, and with, in some instances, at least nominal profits. These communities, however, afford no indication of the prospects attending similar enterprises on a larger scale. The very nature of the telephone business is such that the cost of maintenance and management (apart entirely from capital investment) increase rapidly in proportion to increase in business. It is obviously cheaper in proportion to give each one of two hundred subscribers a connection with the remaining 199 than it is to give each one of 10,000 subscribers a connection with the remaining 9,999. There are a dozen reasons for this fact which must appeal to the common sense of any business man.

These small exchanges, if exposed to suddenly increased demands, are usually found to be entirely unsuited to supply such demands, except at a considerable or total loss of their switchboard and plant investment. An instance of that is before us now in the case of Port Arthur and Fort William. I do not know of a single large community to-day operating a municipal telephone plant with even an approach to financial success, the difficulties in each case being such as I have outlined in one form or another. Furthermore, and of importance, such partial successes as have been made by municipal exchanges of small size have been in each case quite independent of any relation to long distance telephoning, a convenience which is growing very rapidly in commercial use. For the successful operation of long-

distance lines uniformity of equipment and management is absolutely essential. The working day of a long-distance telephone wire is necessarily short, being limited to the hours in which people actually wish to converse with one another. Therefore, promptness of service is of paramount importance, and even with the best facilities known it is found that of each working hour an average of twenty minutes is now consumed in seeking and making the necessary connections. To operate such a service between communities having independent staffs, subject to varying rules and methods, would so reduce the capacity of long-distance lines as to render them of little public utility.

POSITION AND PROSPECTS OF THE YUKON.

Address by Mr. Edmund Bristol, M.P., before the Empire Club of Canada, on Thursday, March 1st, 1906.

Mr. Chairman and Members of the Empire Club,—

Permit me to congratulate you on the formation of this Club and to wish you every success in the objects and purposes you have in view. I esteem it to be a great honour to be asked to be your guest to-day, and I regret exceedingly that press of professional work has not given me the opportunity to reduce to a more accurate form the remarks I propose to offer to you on this occasion. Some time ago—in fact, I believe, it was some months ago—Mr. Hopkins called me up and asked me if I would speak to you on the subject of my trip to the Yukon, and at that time it would have seemed a desirable subject to talk to you about; but when I looked at your card of announcement I was extremely grateful that you didn't announce my subject because it is one that has been spoken upon a great deal.

I assume that you will take my word for it, and I am sure you will all agree with me, that every Canadian who has not already done so should, if possible, take this trip at an early date, and I want to add this, gentlemen, that I consider the journey from Vancouver to Dawson, in the northern portion of the Yukon, and to the borders of the Arctic Circle, to be the more instructive and more educative part of the journey than even the trip from here to Vancouver. I cannot urge upon you too strongly, especially those in public life, if you are in a position to do so, to make such a trip at the earliest possible moment. It is an easy one to make, as you get to Vancouver in four days, and next year I understand the C. P. R. will take you through in three. You go from Vancouver to Skagway in three days. There are three lines of steamers running there



MR. EDMUND BRISTOL, M.P.

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and they are excellent boats, well equipped, and they take you to Skagway from Vancouver for the sum of \$50, giving you a stateroom to use and giving you the best food to eat you could possibly get anywhere, and I fancy you won't find in any place in the world such comfort and such delightful scenery as you see on that trip for any such money.

From Skagway you go to White Horse *via* the well-known White Pass and Yukon Railway, a distance of 110 miles. It takes you from ten in the morning till four in the afternoon and then you take a river boat from White Horse to Dawson, a distance of some four hundred and fifty miles, and a total time, if you want to go straight through, of about ten days. But while I passed over the trip from here to the Rockies, I must say to you that there is nothing that makes you feel prouder of your country, or nothing that makes you appreciate its vastness or its greatness, more than the day and a half you are going through the Rocky Mountains, and if you have the good fortune to make such a trip I am sure you will be well repaid, as you will find there the most wonderful scenery in the world, with a comparatively small amount of inconvenience. When you leave Vancouver on one of the Skagway boats—if you are troubled with seasickness, you will have very little of that, because for only two hours of the time are you subject to the swell of the Pacific Ocean, just around Queen Charlotte Island, and the whole journey is no worse than on one of our Toronto boats—you will see lofty mountains on each side, some of them of extraordinary shape and snow-peaked, and all clad for the whole distance of that thousand miles with the most wonderful timber that the world possesses to-day. The boat that you go on will stop at a few curious and interesting Indian villages, and the whole journey will impress you with the vastness of the country that is still untitled. When I tell you that the population of the Province of British Columbia to-day is probably not more than that of the City of Toronto, you can get some idea of the situation.

When I tell you that the Granby Copper Mines, which are owned by Mr. J. J. Hill, produce over \$100,000 a month, net, you will commence to see that there are some very good mining propositions there which evidently didn't come to the City of Toronto. And you will notice another thing, that of the great development in the Yukon Territory and British Columbia, four-fifths of it is by our neighbours to the south, and that they are putting in their money and their energy, and are sending good citizens in there, and are taking the good Canadian products and reaping the benefit of them.

From Skagway to White Horse, over the White Pass Railway, is one of the most picturesque trips in the world, the White Pass having been rendered famous to the world by the struggles of the men who went through that pass to the Yukon in '96. When you know the Yukon River itself is navigable for twenty-two hundred miles, you can get some slight idea of the greatness and vastness of that country, and when I tell you that the steamers that run from Dawson to the mouth of the Yukon, a distance of some 1,750 miles, are larger than those that run on the Hudson River from Albany to New York, and are just as well equipped and feed you just as well, you will get some idea of the travelling there, and will disabuse your minds of the idea that you will suffer from any discomforts. In July and August you would wear the same clothing there as you wear in the summer months here when you cross from Toronto to Niagara-on-the-Lake; in fact the temperature, if anything, is rather in favour of the Pacific coast as compared with the trip across the Lake in the summer. The same thing applies to Dawson. I had an idea, and possibly there are others who have the same impression, that you have got to take your winter clothing up there in July and August, but let me assure you the climate of Dawson is one of the most invigorating and delightful climates during those months that you could conceive of, in fact from the month of May till the middle of September. I asked a man up in Dawson: "Why don't you tell the people of the outside world what a magnifi-

cent climate you have; I feel that there is nothing in the world I couldn't do, the exhilaration of the Rockies is nothing compared with the climate of Dawson itself." He replied: "Well, if I was to say anything of that kind outside you know what they would call me." And generally that is true—I mean what they would call him.

But the fact is as I have said, that if you are feeling depressed the trip I am suggesting to you is, in my humble judgment, the most delightful one you could take even from the view of physical comfort. You know there is an idea that there is no vegetation in the Yukon, nothing but Polar bears and ice and Esquimaux, but I want to tell you that the wild flowers of the Yukon are larger and brighter and quite as numerous as the wild flowers you find in our own part of the country, or any you will find in Ontario. And the wild fruits, such as raspberries, and currants, and huckleberries, and similar fruits, grows one-half size larger, at least, than you find them here to-day. I want to tell you you will see oats ripen there, and that they grow more wonderful vegetables, cauliflower and celery, than any place else in the world. It is nothing but a great forcing house, for the sun is working about twenty hours a day, and the ground underneath has been frozen for ages, and when the sun strikes the surface everything grows on a tropical scale and with tropical rapidity. During the summer months the verdure and the scenery of the Yukon country is quite as varied and quite as delightful in its character as anything you will find in this Dominion.

And, speaking of the size of those various fruits and so on, which was quite truthful, I am reminded of a story of an Englishman who arrived in New York, and saw a woman pushing a cart along in front of her full of very large water-melons. He said to her: "Are those the largest apples you can grow in America." She looked at him disdainfully and said: "Say, Mister, it is easy to see you come from England; them is huckleberries." Now, as far as the people of the Yukon are concerned I want to say that a more hospitable, better-hearted and nicer lot of people are not to

be found in the world. So far as I am concerned I owe them a debt of deep gratitude. They are so anxious to afford you information about their country—and are so proud of their country and anxious for its development—that I found out a great deal about the resources and the needs of the Territory in a way that I otherwise would not have done.

Of course, everyone has heard of the great placer properties of the Yukon. Everybody to-day has the idea that the Yukon has been worked out, that it has produced its hundred and twenty millions in the last few years, and that nothing remains; but I tell you that from the experiments and investigation of the past few years, in the opinion of the engineers, the Yukon has merely started, it is merely scratched, and for the very obvious reason that two or three years ago engineers would have told you that dredging such as was done in Northern California was there an impossible proposition. The dredges scoop up the gravel in the knolls and shake it up and the gold being heavier sinks and the gravel is then taken off by this means and thrown out of the way. Now that operation in dredging in Oreville, California, is carried on all the year round in gravel that only goes some seventeen cents a cubic yard and yet it pays. But the gravel in the Yukon was gravel that paid three or four dollars a cubic yard, and anything less than that wasn't touched. Well, it has been found that if you clear off the top muck and cut off about a foot thick in one summer and expose that to the heat of the summer sun it melts right down to pay rock, and, therefore, the dredges can and do operate as successfully there as they would in any part of the world.

That means, of course, that all the rivers of the Yukon and the tributaries of the Yukon and the numerous creeks that have been worked out by the old methods will now be worked by the dredges. The first people to practically solve this problem and to put in a dredge were some Americans from Detroit, and they have a dredge that handles no less than two thousand cubic yards of earth a day and produces from \$2,000 to

\$10,000 a day in gold; so that although the poor man has got to go further away from the creeks that were worked a short time ago, the day of capital has come and the day will be soon when that great country will be filled with large dredges. I needn't say what that means to the people of the East who are the persons to send in the dredges and supplies and so on. I needn't enlarge upon that. The other question that is agitating them in the Yukon is whether you can handle these mines by hydraulic methods, the question of water. I believe there is to be brought before the consideration of Parliament some scheme whereby water may be applied to a very large section of this Territory, and if that arrangement is carried out either by Parliament or by private enterprise there seems to be no question that hundred of millions of gold will yet be taken out of the Yukon.

It is not merely in the placer properties that the future of the Yukon exists or is to be found, for during the past two years the most wonderful deposits, or what are believed to be the most wonderful deposits of silver and gold and copper that have been discovered in America, have been found in the southern portion of the Yukon in the neighbourhood of White Horse—a town called Cardcross. If the reports which have been made by many engineers of repute are correct it would seem as if this district had the most wonderful possibilities in the way of the production of gold and silver and copper that any country in the world has ever known; and it is not, as in the case of South Africa, a matter of a worked-out proposition in a few years, but these deposits of ore are found in great mountains three or four thousand feet high and running down through the mountains. It means that for centuries that portion of the world will be producing the precious metals which go to make the wealth of any country.

DR. ORR.—Speaking of dredging we generally understand it as something that runs in water. You spoke of something that operates in the land as well? MR. BRISTOL.—These dredges can operate in any creek bottom

if they are built there. For instance, where the dredging takes place is not merely in the rivers—that is one place. For instance, in Bear Creek the dredge is built right near the side of the creek and digs out a hole for itself, and the water sweeps in from the side and forms a pool around it, and then it can be handled from the dredge in any way that is required. DR. ORR.—Still, it uses the water to float it, too? MR. BRISTOL—Yes, but that water flows around it after it has dug out a hole for itself.

So far as the government of the Yukon is concerned it strikes me they have reached the period of time when it would be far better to give them representative government. At present half of their Legislative Council is appointed by the Government at Ottawa and the other half is elected by the people; but in a country such as that, where you find no poor people, where you find that the men who have gone there have taken their commercial lives, so to speak, in their hands, you see the finest type of manhood that you find anywhere and I believe it would be greatly in the interests of that country and its development if to-day they were given by us responsible government.

As to the trade of that country let me point out to you that it is most important. While I was there I went into the matter as thoroughly as I could, and I found that at Skagway, instead of having what we have at Niagara Falls and other points along the border—merely a commercial customs—what the United States was treating us to was a preventive customs and the endeavour, apparently, was to use every kind of red tape in order to compel Canadian shippers shipping by the C. P. R. to give bonds to get their goods through the ten miles of territory which extends between Skagway, British Columbia and the Yukon. You can readily understand the effect that this action on the part of the Custom House has on Canadian shippers. A number of these matters have been placed before the authorities, and I am glad to say that this state of affairs will

soon be changed and the Canadian shippers will get the full benefit of that trade which they should get.

But, gentlemen, the most important matter, so far as the Yukon is concerned and its future development, is the question of transportation. While they have this White Pass and Yukon Railway running a distance of 112 miles, let me tell you that while freights to Skagway, in view of the railway and ocean competition, are as cheap as any place in the world, the freight from Skagway to White Horse or Dawson costs some \$60 a ton for shipping hay and things like that. Now the reason that the Yukon cannot proceed and go on with its development at a greater rate is because living there is so high on account of the enormous cost of the transportation which is charged by this particular Railway. The Railway Commission has been unable to have them checked because some ten or twelve miles are in the United States, and they said that if any one in Canada took action they would charge the \$60 for the first ten miles. If the United States were willing to take this thing up something might be done, but there is one thing certain, if you want to have further development and further discoveries and the discoverer is to go further from his base of supplies we must make it cheaper for him to get to the place he wants to go. There are some discoveries of camps which it is believed ought to be as good as Dawson was, but which cannot be reached until there is cheaper transportation.

The final impressions that such a journey as this leave on your mind are of a somewhat varied character. On the one hand, it is that of a land of wonders which cannot be surpassed, of days that are glorious and nights that are brilliant, and of a period of time when the cares of life are forced to one side by the sheer grandeur of your surroundings. In that great North-West the Creator has made a country on a stupendous scale. In Alberta and Saskatchewan we have the limitless prairies capable of feeding the whole British Empire. In British Columbia we have the great mountains, the marvellous timbers and the wonderful fisheries made on the same

colossal scale, and in the Yukon the same bountiful Providence has created a vast store of wealth, of gold, of silver and of copper, capable of enriching for many centuries and, to a reasonable extent, not only this country but the great Empire to which we belong. Under those circumstances where does the world hold out any brighter or better destiny than to be a citizen of such an Empire and such a Dominion. It brings home to us the duty that devolves upon us all to do the best we can for our country, to see that she leads in civilization and commercial prosperity and advancement, and to take care to hand down to those who come after us a country whose past has been great and glorious and whose fame shall be pure and unsullied.



MR. E. J. B. PENSE, M.P.P.
Editor and Proprietor of the Kingston *Whig*

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CANADIAN JOURNALISM.

Address by Mr. E. J. B. Pense, M.P.P., Editor *Kingston Whig*, before the Empire Club of Canada, on March 8th, 1906.

Mr. Chairman and Gentlemen,—

Circumstances surrounding the invitation to address your Club afforded only two days for research and discovery, and I must be pardoned if I talk "shop," though it be upon the thing most in evidence in public life, the office and the home—"The Press." It is no longer a case of his one favourite paper which the citizen regularly carries home, but of a roll of them, as varied in politics and style as the cherished one formerly was narrow and fruitful of partizanship. The thought of this subject was precipitated by a criticism from a weekly journalist of Toronto, whose chief excuse for issuing a paper at all must be that he "had to live somehow," though few persons seem to recognize the actual necessity of that proposition. To his attack there is a complete defence.

The members of the Canadian Press Association travel like other public bodies—like gentlemen—paying their way in every respect save the hauling of chartered cars over railway lines. Their individual trips are not taken on "passes," but on tickets issued in exchange for advertising at current rates, a fair business transaction, mutually helpful and not destructive of the independence of public expression. Defence of the *personnel* of journalism seems to be unnecessary in Toronto, since several of its publishers are its leaders in philanthropy even more than in enterprise, and since its editors preserve an estimable reputation. The loyalty of the local press is a community's best asset, and this is so evident and effective here that it does not fail to dissatisfy other cities of Ontario regarding their disadvantages in the line of competitive publicity.

The press was the star of empire that westward pointed the Canadian way. It pierced the literary gloom in Halifax in 1752, in Quebec in 1764, in New Brunswick in 1785, in Montreal in 1788, in Newark in 1793, and in every case the name of the paper was the *Gazette*. The fashion in names was restricted or arbitrary in those days, and that particular title is now sadly worn out; yet has a saving reputation in the *Montreal Gazette*, deeply respected for eminent virtues at the still vigorous age of 118 years. That the art preservative of arts became the handmaid of civilization is clear from its rapid growth in the creeping period of colonization. In 1824 Upper and Lower Canada possessed nineteen journals; the record of 1836 was fifty, with a Liberal preponderance due to a sense of wrongs, some fancied and some very real, and to the people's thwarted aspirations for Parliamentary independence and adequate representation. This was the introductory era of the magnetic telegraph. Newspapers had been devoted to long reports from European papers through ocean-sailing packets; to editorials which called a spade a spade in heated terms; and to essays on current topics which displayed a beauty of diction quite rare nowadays. Henceforth they became active purveyors of news and gave the scare-head a modest introduction. The spirit of government was executive domination, sustained by a "family compact" which inwardly felt a divine right to office and supremacy.

There were no popular municipal institutions in those days. Towns were ruled by magistrates, even by wardens of churches of the generously endowed order. The dominant party used their power with little regard for criticism or appearances. For instance, they regulated the banking accommodation, and in those days of open voting it required a strenuous air of politics to nerve men into opposition. Naturally, Radicals from the old lands were moved to action, and created fresh organs for wider avenues of protest and denunciation. The battles of the editors were the life of the towns, and were welcomed, in their isolation, for travel was pos-

sible by stage only during at least half of the year. The humours of the types were also much in evidence. It is a tradition in Kingston that the influence most potent in its precipitate loss of the Government seat was the ridicule of Madame Lafontaine's poodle by a saucy paper which still dares to exist.

The business side of journalism was not ideal in those days. Vapid jokes now current anent cord-wood subscriptions had then a real substance. The experience of a certain office was perhaps that of many others; subscribers who began by bringing in four loads of wood for a year's paper lived to receive four years' of the same paper for one cord of wood. Publishers made journeys by sleigh for days together, gathering subscriptions and advertising, and making collections. The papers, having but one writer each, were dull in their absences, but were brightened after their return through "sketches by the way," which still are readable in this distant day.

Along came the era of the Grand Trunk, of the Browns, of E. G. Penny, of Smiley, of Beatty, and a host of less prominent men of vigour, of action and intellect, who elevated journalism, gave it a system, eliminated the degrading personal element, and made news a prompt and far-reaching feature. The business office must be fed, or the editorial side will languish, and happily, as commercial stakes have been lengthened, advertising has grown, and the craft has steadily advanced. Several Canadian evening dailies indisputably rival those in the more wealthy and populous land to the south, while the morning papers cover their own land much more completely than do their United States contemporaries. No more convincing evidence of this could be offered than the reports of proceedings of the Dominion Parliament—in view of labour and cost involved and the pressure of time.

A Canadian population scattered over thousands of miles is not greater than that which almost immediately borders on the City of New York and becomes a local feeder to its journals. The comparison most compli-

mentary to Canadians as regards that intelligence which begets readers and advertising effects, is that a noted authority on publicity accords the Dominion the credit of a greater circulation of newspapers in proportion to population than the Union as a whole. Since wealth of communities is the greatest factor in creating great journals, Canada has reason to be proud of the product of its yet modest competency. From 311 in 1864, the number of journals rose to 567 in 1881, to 1,031 in 1891 and to 1,307 in 1905. The first Canadian daily was issued at Montreal in 1833, but it became a tri-weekly in winter. The Kingston *Whig* was the first all-the-year round daily. Brockville, in the *Recorder*, treasures the oldest Ontario weekly, aged about 75 years.

It goes without saying that no campaign for half a century has failed to yield, in great measure, to the stirring activities of the fourth estate, when either the rising or the dominant party had a presentable case. It can make or unmake leaders. Memory recalls a quiet conference of Editors of Ontario dailies, soon after the fall of the Mackenzie Government, to start Liberalism on the road to resuscitation and to incidentally resent the dictation of *The Globe* and the indifference of the late Premier to the Provincial press. They resolved to invoke a new guide and carve out a fresh policy for the party. They laid hold on Blake's name, and the sentiment created all over the land brought that politician speedily to the front as leader—not at his desire, for he was scrupulously just to Mackenzie. In the landslide of 1905 in Provincial politics the press, and not the Opposition Leader, and not Gamey, and not the platform, was the most potent Conservative factor. Where Liberal candidates used that weapon most freely they were most successful. Liberal editors won in four cities; one gained the day and one was defeated in rural constituencies. This was a large measure of success when so many of their comrades fell by the way. In England, in the recent general election, old-time customs yielded very significantly, when the Conservative party paraded a page of black letter appeal in the most unheard of quarter, the London *Times*.

Journalism is becoming more and more a profession rather than a calling, and it is a tribute to its fairness and dignity that it furnishes so many successful candidates in public contests. The Canadian press is now only in rare instances owned by wealthy or ambitious leaders for purposes of influence. It is an independent press, though very devoted to party. Distinguished politicians have emerged from modest places in its ranks. Sir John Thompson and the Hon. W. S. Fielding were reporters in early life. Sir Mackenzie Bowell has continued to own and direct the *Belleville Intelligencer*. Sir Wilfrid Laurier launched *The Settler* (one who clears the way), but did not succeed in perpetuating it and consequently become enslaved to the desk—another proof of manifest destiny. Sir John Macdonald placed a higher value on the press than did any other politician of his time, and scarce one of the scribes devoted to his cause failed to receive favour at his hand.

There is a Canadian journalism which bears the higher name of literature and for which pride can honourably be evoked. As Stewart's, Belford's and other magazines of excellent merit passed away this country was voted a barren field, but the *Canadian Magazine* has lived long and has grown better with age, because well supported. Pleasantly surprising has been the success of such illustrated journals as the *Standard*, *Canada*, the *Graphic*, *Resources*, and the Saturday supplements of the *Globe* and *World*. The illustrations are super-excellent in some cases; compared with United States publications, where wealth and population should give much greater effects, the Canadian presentment is a triumph. A livelier sense of this excellence should help to stem the inward flood of magazines, often anti-British in sentiment, running counter to our Imperial desires and weakening our national spirit.

The impulses and benefits of an absorbing national ambition—inflation some may call it—have been lessons from across the border that we should imbibe without their rival sentiments. We cannot retain the Parkers, the Barrs, the Bliss Carmans or Roberts, but we can

sustain many worthy literary workers, holding fast to our patriotic record, treasuring our best traditions and at length commanding respect abroad. It is a good rule—yes, a national service—to patronize every Canadian book of merit, and thus materially help our country and inspire our thoughts and actions.

Upon the reserve, dignity and independence of the secular press, and upon the broadening spirit of a highly creditable religious press, rests the unity of the country in large measure. Quebec and Ontario would be warmer national colleagues but for feelings of hostility arising from a too serious consideration of occasional vagaries of party journalism—baseless as an evidence of public feeling. A few heated expressions are remembered and a thousand just and friendly articles forgotten. In no particular can our enterprise, our enlightenment and our capacity be more conspicuous than in an improving and a helpful press, yielding to no estate in chivalry, patriotism or endeavour, braving the ingratitude, seemingly inevitable, from those it serves most generously, and attracting still brighter intellects that it may become more worthy of an exalted service.



LIEUT.-COLONEL JAMES MASON.
Commanding 4th Infantry Brigade.

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CANADA AND IMPERIAL DEFENCE.

Addresses by Lieut.-Col. James Mason, R.O., Officer Commanding Fourth Infantry Brigade, and Major E. Wyly Grier, before the Empire Club of Canada, on March 15th, 1906.

LIEUT.-COLONEL JAMES MASON.

I do not raise the question, "Should Canada contribute to the defence of the Empire?" for that must be conceded. Canada could not protect herself, and only exists as a self-governing colony, or nation, by reason of her connection with the Empire; so that to contribute to the defence of the Empire should be regarded not only as a duty but as a necessity.

The British Empire, with its vast possessions so widely scattered over the face of the globe, and its enormous business and trade interests, requires now more than ever in these days of alliances of nations, a large and efficient navy and army to protect and to defend its possessions and trade. The following figures taken from recent returns will show to what extent the British taxpayer is burdened in order that this army and navy may be maintained. The gross estimates for the Navy for 1904-1905 are £38,327,838, and for the Army for the same year £32,237,049. These figures are reduced in the case of the Navy by a contribution from India of £103,400; the Australian Commonwealth, £200,000; New Zealand, £40,000; Cape Colony, £50,000; Natal, £35,000; Newfoundland, £3,000; and other sums realized from purchase of discharges, stoppages of pay, sales of old stores and properties, and other sources; in all about one and a half million pounds, making the net expenditure, £36,889,500. The Army reductions consist of India's contribution, £416,000; the Colonies, £537,000, of which Canada's share is £22,100; and other sources similar to those of the Navy, making a total of about £3,500,000; which leaves a net expenditure of £28,370,-

000—a grand total of over £64,000,000, or about \$300,000,000. This gigantic sum is the levy for a single year only, and it has been frequently exceeded. Consider the heavy burden placed upon the shoulders of the forty-two millions of people who inhabit England, Ireland and Scotland. We, in Canada, contribute a little over \$100,000 to all this expenditure of \$300,000,000.

Let us now see what we do here. The Militia estimates of 1896-1897 were \$2,413,651, while those for 1904-05 are \$3,995,868, to provide for a total strength of over 49,000 of all ranks. The large increase noticeable in the last year indicates a movement to place the force on a better footing, more numerous and more efficient. This sum has since been considerably increased to provide for the expenditure in connection with the taking over of the fortifications at Halifax and Esquimalt. This is a good sign, and recent utterances on the part of the Ministers at the head of the Militia and Marine Departments point to the continuance of the more liberal policy lately begun. It is asked: What is Canada's duty, or how best can we contribute to Imperial defence? By this is meant the aiding of the Home Government in maintaining the integrity and peace of the Empire.

It can easily be conceived that were a successful attack made upon the Empire by a combination of Powers, for no single Power could accomplish that, the Colonies and outlying states would find themselves in a position quite unfit to resist for any length of time a vigorous invasion of their territory, or to prevent the destruction of their mercantile marine. Canada might be reckoned among these, and so it is evident that we owe it to ourselves to do all we possibly can to back up and assist the Mother Country. I know there is a very general opinion held here that large grants of money would not be popular with the people of Canada. Money must be spent, however, if anything is to be done and if spent judiciously, and other means taken, I think we can materially add to the strength of the defensive forces of the Empire without placing a heavy burden upon our

people; a burden very light indeed when compared with that borne by the people of Great Britain and Ireland. To come to details, the following plan has suggested itself to me, and I have for a long time believed it to be the most feasible and effective.

(1) A small but well-trained and well-equipped Permanent Force, much as it is at present and, with the exception of the force now required to properly garrison the fortifications at Halifax and Esquimalt, wholly devoted to the training and instruction of the Militia; the men composing this Permanent Force to be selected for their ability to impart instruction, the rate of pay to be such as to attract the class of men required and to be increased with each period of re-enlistment, with the addition of a pension at the end of a reasonable term of years. By this means the Permanent Force would in time consist almost entirely of instructors. I would also have a return to the old system of military schools for the instruction of officers. This I should explain. In the system at present in vogue, none but those holding commissions in the Militia are eligible to enter the schools of instruction, so that a young man must be first gazetted to a corps and provide himself with a uniform, at considerable expense, before he can take a "course," as it is called. The result is that most, if not all, of the corps are short of officers, and many of those in the corps are not of much use, for commanding officers in their anxiety to complete their establishment frequently recommend for commissions young men who are not cut out for military work.

By the old system any respectable and educated young man, recommended by the senior officer of his district, could take a course and qualify for a commission without being a member of any corps. In the times I speak of—that is, when the old military schools were in operation—thousands of the best young men of the country took their certificates and were eligible for commissions in the Militia. Were this system re-introduced I feel certain that in the centres of education, where these schools would be established, a great many young men

going from the different parts of the country to attend universities and medical schools, would take the course in one of these military schools, while many others, after quitting their local schools and colleges, and before beginning a business life, would also qualify. It will be easily seen, therefore, how in a few years a vast number of young men in Canada would be qualified to hold commissions, and would thus take a greater interest in Militia matters than they otherwise would. I would not advocate doing away with the present system of instruction, but would have that carried on in conjunction with the other.

(2) The training of schoolboys is a movement which I am glad to see growing, and it should be encouraged to such extent that, in time, to find a boy leaving school who had not received a military training would be the exception and not the rule. The cadet corps are rapidly increasing in number, which shows how popular such training is becoming. It might be asked: Where are the instructors to be found for the thousands of schools we now have in Canada, where, in a great majority of cases, the teachers are women? I should say in answer to this that the return to the old military school system would soon furnish a large body of instructors; for these students and others, who would have qualified and returned to their own districts, would be competent and no doubt, very willing, to instruct the youth of the schools in their own neighbourhoods, besides furnishing an ample supply of officers for the Militia. Some simple and inexpensive system of rifle practice could probably be devised for use in schools and colleges. The adoption of this scheme would, in the course of time, if efficiently carried out, result in the majority of the male population of the country having a fair knowledge of drill, and, if a great emergency arose and their services were required, they could in a very short time indeed be quite sufficiently organized to take the field, the officers have been already provided for by the military school system. If the Government were then prepared to furnish arms and equipment a formidable army could be mobilized in a very short time.

(3) The recently avowed intention of the Minister of Marine and Fisheries must have given much pleasure and gratification to those gentlemen who have so persistently and for so long been endeavouring to evoke an interest in the direction of a naval or marine volunteer force in Canada. There is no reason against, and many reasons in favour of, our having such a force. Material is at hand, and the young men residing along our sea coasts and lake shores could be found in sufficient numbers willing to form themselves into companies and squads if given the opportunity, and instructors could be found in just the same manner as they are now for the land forces, and all that would be necessary for their training could be as easily obtained. A few years of this latter line of action, if liberally and intelligently carried out, would result in our having in Canada a great number of good citizens pursuing their usual occupation for a living, and capable in a very short time of being fitted to take their places in the naval and marine forces of the Empire.

(4) I now come to the last item of the scheme I advocate. I think we owe it to Great Britain and ourselves to contribute from time to time one vessel of war to the fleet of England. A battleship is the highest type and, of course, the most expensive. Five millions of dollars is about what such a ship would cost. But is that too much? One dollar per head of our population every few years until it could be safely said that we had done enough, should answer the purpose aimed at. We should also maintain these vessels. I know this proposition may startle some people, but can we go on from year to year busily engrossed in our affairs, making a living and a good deal more in many instances, yet never thinking of our responsibilities. Disaster to England would bring ruin to many in Canada, just as with a community suddenly brought to face a conflagration which destroys all their property, because no appliances for extinguishing the fire are kept at hand, on the ground of expense.

It may be asked, omitting the contribution to the

Navy, how all this would add or contribute to the defence of the Empire? To that question I would answer that, were any Power, or combination of Powers, contemplating an attack upon the Empire, their very first consideration would be a summing up of the forces they would have to meet in the event of a war, and in doing this they would not overlook what share Canada would take in the struggle. No one with any knowledge of the spirit that animates the Canadian people would doubt what would be done by them in the event of the Empire being engaged in a great and serious war. Of the male population capable of bearing arms, and who could be spared from their duties as citizens, few would hesitate to offer their services in such a case, and should the struggle become more acute, and the position more threatening, more and still more would press forward. What occurred a few years ago during the war in South Africa must have shown Foreign countries that in making an attack upon Great Britain they would have to reckon with the Colonies as well as the Mother Country. I will not say anything about what has been done by Canada in the building up of the country, and in providing the great facilities for its trade and commerce, thus encouraging immigration and adding largely to its population. I may refer more particularly to the lines of railway, present and projected, crossing and to cross the continent to open up the great West. A few years should see a great increase in our population in that part of the Dominion, and if the methods I now speak of were in active operation in the older parts of the country they would soon spread to those newer ones, and Canada would indeed become a source of strength to the Empire; and would be looked upon as capable of adding a very formidable contingent to the other forces of our common realm. We should then be freed from the justly merited reproach that we are enjoying the protection afforded by the naval and military forces of Great Britain without paying anything for it.

MAJOR E. WYLY GRIER.

Mr. President and Gentlemen,—

I notice that it only requires a very short apprenticeship in the effort to become a participant in the defence of our country for one to win the reputation of being an authority on military matters. I don't feel myself competent to present any conclusions, or indeed make suggestions, of any great weight, but as it was the wish of our late President, Col. Mason, that I should say something I will try to tell you what has occurred to my mind that has a useful bearing on what we are discussing. It seems almost absurd that a number of gentlemen like ourselves should come together in broad noonday to discuss the defence of one of the most peaceful countries in the world. At present there is no cloud upon our horizon. We are busy building the railways to which Colonel Mason referred, and in the development of our marvellous resources which we have heard about and which are, of course, a very significant fact and which can't be too often dwelt upon; but while I do not wish to be an alarmist or to win the reputation of being fond of militarism, I do think that we should suppose the possibility of some war in which we would play a minor or a major part.

In every country there is a certain section of the public who are reluctant to admit that war is a possibility. I dare say that every gentleman here will remember that when the South African war was imminent a number of our personal friends didn't believe it would come to pass. I heard it stated by a man of no small gifts that the Spanish-American war could not take place, but the *Maine* was blown up about two days afterwards, and the war followed very rapidly. Now there have been other rumours of war which fortunately never developed into actual hostilities. I dare say we all remember the thrill of anxious interest which went through the country after President Cleveland's famous message, and it could be hardly stated that the arbitration on this subject of the Alaskan Boundary was so

entirely a peaceful thing as it promised to be. It stirred up a certain amount of feeling which it will take a long time to make quiescent again. Then there was some talk of the purchase of an island on our Eastern coast, and what was that chilly whisper that has come down from Hudson's Bay.

There are advocates of arbitration who may believe in the possibilities of war and who are compelled to assume the duty of arbitration from fear of war. There was the picturesque figure of the Czar of all the Russias, who a short time ago had such a great army, and who showed himself before the world as the friend of peace, but the light which was presently thrown on that picturesque figure was a very lurid one, for he was plunged into a disastrous war and he fell with very much more disastrous results to himself as a procurator of war than if he had spent the time which he lavished upon his hobby in careful, thoughtful, Japanese-like preparations for a possible war which, perhaps, he did not honestly wish to provoke; and he would have a very much more contented realm than he now attempts to rule over. After that famous Venezuelan message which has been referred to, Canada purchased a number of very efficient horse artillery guns. It is true it has been suggested recently that when the weather is overcast we should get under that generous and limitless canopy of the doctrine of Monroe, but I notice that the Minister of Militia, who suggested that it was cheaper to subscribe to the doctrine of Monroe than to get money to build a Navy, has succeeded in getting a great deal of money for the purpose of building drill-sheds and armouries!

Then the recent wars and the indications of possible wars show us, I think, that the time may come when Canada will not be able to maintain the position merely of an onlooker. It is true, since 1813, we have lived practically in a condition of peace, though there have been outbreaks which I should not wish to minimize on account of the heroism and patriotism displayed on the occasion of those outbreaks; but at the same time there has been no real war in Canada throughout the whole

length and breadth of the land. I contend that a war in which we would take a prominent part, or a lesser part, is eminently possible if you look at the condition of Europe to-day. I ask you to contemplate the unrest in Russia to-day; it is like a cauldron that is boiling and it is liable to boil over and somebody will get scalded and there will be trouble. And this Moroccan question, how feverish is the feeling in that momentous conclave. Then what an element of unrest is centred in the personality of the Emperor William of Germany. The newspapers are capable perhaps of exaggeration in outlining the eccentricities of the great Emperor, but we can suppose that a man possessing the enormous egotism of this man may, through that egotism, bring about results as disastrous as did Napoleon and, as the personality of Napoleon plunged the whole of Europe in disastrous wars and changed the balance of power in the world, I say that the personality of that singular individual, Emperor William, may bring about a condition of things where wars and a series of wars would be the result.

Now the question, should the various parts of the Empire participate in a conflict which is the more immediate interest of one particular part, has, it seems to me, been already answered on the battlefields of South Africa, and where the appeal is deep and strong enough the various Colonies or parts of the Empire will inevitably feel the necessity of lending a helping hand to that portion of the Empire which is in immediate danger and the honour and the safety of the whole will be intimately involved with the fate of the one particular part.

Colonel Mason's paper is very comprehensive and while I recognize, as I am sure you all do, the great usefulness of the various items and the significance of the various plans of defence which he has suggested to us, I find it impossible, after the manner of the debaters in Parliament or after the manner of those legal gentlemen whose custom it is, to make anything like an impromptu comment, or to in any sufficient manner weigh

the suggestions he has made. I noted with very great interest the stress which he laid upon the contributions of Australia in the direction of naval protection. I think Australia, our neighbour Colony, was responsible in leading the way in Empire contribution, although it does not seem to be the most obvious duty of Canada to contribute in a naval way, inasmuch as we have a comparatively small sea-board compared with our enormous land frontier, and while it does seem right that we should make some effort to exhibit our interest in the defence not only of our own shores but our neighbour's shores which may be attacked, I am perhaps more competent to refer to that part of our duty which lies upon the land—the military part which Canada should play.

I very much liked Colonel Mason's idea of the revival of the old condition of things whereby intelligent men could be trained without going through a great deal of red tape and without going to the expense of investing in costly uniforms. To-day all branches of the Military Service are scientific. I remember the branch which I had the honour of playing a small part in was considered one of the specially scientific branches, the artillery, but, I think, the Engineers were more so, and I found that if I intended to go on the next thing for me to do was to go back to school and go through a course of higher mathematics. It does seem to me that the suggestion that was made was good that there should be a sort of system of skeleton army in Canada whereby the officers would be trained for the purpose of instruction, and the non-commissioned officers likewise trained. Then we would have a force which would not be very expensive to train or to maintain and the rank and file would be improvised and, I think, the average farmer or the average man is of a very high intelligence and it doesn't take him many weeks to become a good unit in the rank and file of any branch of the service which he may choose to associate himself with.

Colonel Mason referred to the railways and the development of the North-West, but there was one feature of those railways which he did not impress upon us. It

does strike me, living as I do now in that comfortable position of the army critic and playing no part actively; it does seem to me that there is a tremendous strategic advantage in the fact that our new railways which are being built, or which are proposed, follow a route running mainly east and west in a line which is considerably north of the present line of the C. P. R. and extending our country and our means of communication northwards. One railway is now projecting itself through Abitibi up to the James Bay. Then the development of the country not only west but north gives us the means of maintaining an army in the northern country so that the case of defeat—a possible defeat—during the first hostilities on our southern frontier, will not completely annihilate us. We can move northward to our timbered fastnesses and we can fight a desperate game, too, with the forests at our back and with the provision which nature has made for us.

IMPERIAL DEFENCE.

Addresses by Captain A. T. Hunter and Mr. T. E. Champion,
before the Empire Club of Canada, March 22nd, 1906.

CAPT. A. T. HUNTER.

I find myself in a much more exposed position than I had anticipated. I had understood that the Commanding Officer of the 34th was to lead the firing line and I was to be merely in support. Now, Imperial Defence is a subject that has hitherto enjoyed a privilege which it is now losing, it has enjoyed the privilege of being safe ground for the orator and flag-waver; no definite duties being undertaken and no definite money proposition being guaranteed. In this respect it has been safer ground than the question, "How shall Canada defend Canada?" which is a question that no Canadian of public responsibility has as yet given an honest and a complete answer to. It was therefore very unfitting of Colonel Mason to deprive this subject of its vague and theoretic character and to propose so hard and inelastic a piece of collateral as a bit of a battleship, when we are all willing and ready at all times to put up, what we have always put up, a verbal undertaking to give our last man and last dollar. We are, I think, being put in the cold commercial position of having to put up or shut up. (Hear! hear.)

Let us examine our obligations and then let us examine our means of settlement—matters of settlement in matters of defence being divided from time immemorial into three forms, men, money and ships—money being hard to part with and ships taking longer to get than money, and men of the right kind taking still longer than ships. As to our obligations there has been a good deal of confusion because by the use of metaphors we speak of the Mother-country as if she were a widow and we her sons earning ten dollars a week and asked



CAPT. A. T. HUNTER.
2th Regiment York Rangers.

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to chip in for her support! Now, as a matter of fact, an Englishman of my own age is not my mother and I am not under filial obligation to him. Ours is not the duty to give, ours is the duty of good comradeship to lend in the hour of necessity even such things as we have or can get ready in the time of the hurly burly. I must therefore strongly oppose the idea of giving a battleship. I feel at the same time that we should start, and start now, a constantly increasing collection of marine police and battleships or cruisers, of whatever type is considered most appropriate and that we should be ready to lend them on short notice and place them at the Empire's disposal without reserve. There is no doubt that the day will come when we must want police protection for our large mercantile marine and when that day comes we will be heartily ashamed of ourselves. The Maple Leaf as a land emblem is quite appropriate and correct but as a maritime nation at the present time ours should be the "sponge rampant." (Laughter.)

Next as to money. Now there is no need of talking of money in this connection because we are always in the English money market. They are always lending and we are always steady borrowers, so we will pass on to the men. There are men to give or lend—it is a figurative speech, it is a metaphor, to speak of giving our last man. We will only lend him. We want him back when J. B. is through with him, even though he be maimed and blind, or eaten up with enteric. We want him back again because he is a Canadian, and in this connection men being practically all we have to offer I think there is considerable room for educating Canadians as to the appropriate and suitable sort of men that we should accumulate for Imperial loaning purposes. I am not referring to home defence but for the purpose of sending abroad. Now I know the proper sort of men, but it is quite unlikely that many Canadians would agree with me. Still I will throw out a few suggestions. It is useless to ask the Imperial War Office what sort of soldiery the gentlemen want when we make a contribu-

tion for the reason that they have an unfortunate practice of not explaining their meaning. On the last occasion of a contribution they asked for Infantry and all along they meant mounted troops. The next time they will probably ask for Cavalry meaning Army Service Corps or Engineers.

It is up to the Canadians to decide what will be the best contribution and to send the best. Now it is a matter of considerable difficulty to decide what is the best. Of course the first object is to maintain the just cause of the Empire, for the Empire always has a just cause when it extends its territories and, conversely, if the Empire loses territory it is in the wrong; but the second object is more important and that is to give the other nations a formidable image of the Canadians. Now these erroneous images of nations do a great deal of good or harm. For instance there is the Chinese. The Chinaman has allowed others to think that he is unwarlike and servile with the result that we have fed him with kicks. On the other hand the notion we commonly have of the native of Kentucky is that every man is a Colonel and drinks raw whisky and that notion tends to make us respectful and hospitable. (Laughter.) Now if we could only give the nations abroad the idea that it was not wise to have Canadians looking at them over the sights of the rifle that would start the idea that Canada was a lot of bad land for the invader, that it was lean in glory and rich in abusive words, and that the invader would likely come back, as they say on the Scotch borders, "Wi' a sark fu' o' sair banes."

Well, in selecting our men for the Imperial export trade I am afraid we shall have to look outside of our military organization in the future. The only military organization in Canada is, as you are aware, the Militia—of whom the York Rangers is undoubtedly the best Regiment (hear, hear), and the Militia is, unfortunately for us, in its equipment and weapons, instruction, tactics and discipline, a very servile imitation of the British Regular Army. This involves the danger at any time of deterioration over which our public authorities have

no control. Let me illustrate. During the South African war the Boers gave infinite annoyance by the discourteous manner in which they disregarded the rules of tactics laid down by the best European experts and it took six or seven times their number to convince those ignorant farmers of the error in their modes of fighting; and during that period the English officers, from Lord Roberts down, had the feeling that it was wise to adopt what are now called looser movements, more extended formations, and to allow what is known as individual initiative.

Now individual initiative, I may say to you who are not military men, is that degree of human reason which is allowed to a common soldier to enable him to come in out of a rain of bullets. The older class of soldier was mobilized just as a wheelbarrow. The result was that during the South African period the British Army permitted, and consequently the Canadian Militia was allowed, a certain amount of initiative in its training and some of the phases of the instruction have been applied in actual fighting. But the lesson of the South African war has gone the way of the lesson of the American Revolution, and the British Army for the past year and more has been steadily retracing its steps, deliberately doing so, and the photograph of any military imbecility that is introduced in England is faithfully mimicked in Canada. For instance, a Japanese Infantry officer is believed during the occurrence of a night attack to have struck a Russian with a sword—it is not well authenticated, but it is believed—and, accordingly, we Canadian Infantry Officers who during the South African war had been told to leave our swords in the tents—and they ought to be in museums—had them very much in evidence at the last Camp, and we practiced the drawing, carrying, saluting with and returning these lodge emblems and we did it to the rhythmic stamping of our own feet. Such are the horrors of war!

And it is going to be worse in the future. The highest military authority at present in England, the Duke himself, has very recently declared for precise drill as against

loose movements. Accordingly it is inevitable that someone in the Militia Department at Ottawa will roar for precise drill. We can almost see the orders on our tables. We get about a pail full per week of Militia orders! We can see the great man struggling to make it clear to us that we must have precise drill and we can see the lines of thought wrinkling the back of his neck (laughter), and next camp will see us not only at Niagara—it was inevitable that we should go back to Niagara, we all knew it—but will see us spending the first week learning the science of presenting arms by numbers, just as we did in the old days before DeWet set up a school for the British Army. Gentlemen, we Canadians cannot compete in precise drill with the professional Tommies and we will make a great mistake in selecting our next contribution to the Empire if we consider precise drill any qualification for selection. My proposition is, then, to select or to breed up in, or out, of the Militia say one thousand Canadians with these qualifications:

(1) To be able to ride sufficiently well to get from one place to another.

(2) What is more important, to shoot with the greatest possible accuracy at long ranges from 600 yards to 1,500 yards, which are the ranges at which the precisely drilled soldier of Europe never hits anything except by accident.

(3) That they should know the other use of a sand-bag—I mean entrenchment.

(4) That they should have enough discipline not to be hung as bandits when taken prisoners.

A thousand Canadians with those qualifications, under an appreciative leader, could stall up a whole division of the best precisely-drilled troops in Europe. Gentlemen, where we are to find those thousand I haven't the least idea, because they are not in Canada at present; there are not three hundred with these qualifications. But I do know that if we had them—and cost what it may, we ought to get them—if we had them and sent them to the field, the next time the nations drew lots to see who should be invaded, Canada would get the "by."

MR. T. E. CHAMPION.—This is a subject in which I take a very great interest and of which I have read a great deal and of which I have also written considerably. Once before in addressing this Club I gave myself the privilege of telling you what I thought about Canadians and Imperial Defence and I had the honour when making my speech of getting one of the best receptions for what I said that has ever been accorded to any member of the Club. I thoroughly agree with what Captain Hunter has said about the selfishness of Canadians and about the vast amount of lip loyalty they have given and the miserable parsimonious policy of our people. Canada professes herself to be like those people we read about in "Peter Simple," Marryat's novel of the Barbadoes; the only fault that they possessed was that they were a little too brave. If we read what Canadians often say about themselves one would think that Marryat must have had the future Canadians in his mind when he wrote that chapter about the natives of that country being a little too brave. Since the War of 1812, and in that war, gentlemen, what did we do. We furnished our men, but we wouldn't pay one penny of the expenses, it was paid by Great Britain—and so far from being a loss to us, was a very great benefit. Since then it is the same way. We actually didn't take the whole cost of our own internal dissensions till 1837. When we sent out roops to South Africa we sent most of them C.O.D., and we grumbled about paying one single half-penny.

We have the full benefit of the British Navy in protecting our commerce and we give nothing in return, and it is the duty of the Empire Club—one of its duties—to teach the people that they must either put up or shut up. It was Colonel George Taylor Denison that coined that phrase when we cried so loudly about the Alaskan dispute, and if it was true then it is still more true now, and Canadians should be required either to say less about their loyalty or to do a great deal more to show it. We spend an enormous amount, comparatively speaking, on our Permanent Force and the Permanent Force is a victim of politics from first to last—

I don't care which party is in power. Our present Government is coming along well and will equal its predecessors. It is not to appoint the best man but the man that has the most pull. We don't want a permanent corps, at least only to a certain extent, only to be a corps of instruction, and it has lamentably failed in that object for which it was first intended. And then, gentlemen, there is one great thing, to teach the young people that there is a greater duty devolved upon them. At present you ask, what will we do? We will sing, "God Save the King." You ask, will we do more? Yes, we will sing "Rule Britannia." But not a thing will our people do substantially. They will sing, but they won't deprive themselves of a dollar of their money to do anything in the real defence of the Empire. We pride ourselves upon being a component part of the Empire on which the sun never sets, and we give the least possible sum we can, when it is not only our duty but our privilege to help to maintain it.



THE HON. W. A. WEIR, K.C., M.P.P.

Minister of Public Works, Quebec.

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RESOURCES AND PROGRESS OF QUEBEC.

Address by the Hon. W. A. Weir, K.C., M.P.P., Speaker of the Legislative Assembly of Quebec, before the Empire Club of Canada, on Thursday, April 5th, 1906.

Mr. President and Gentlemen,—

I think it is my first duty to thank the directorate of the Empire Club for the great honour they have done me in asking me to speak to this gathering of important men, and, second, to thank the Chairman for his very kind permission to extend my remarks for a little longer than the usual time. You all know that for some two months very recently I have been seated in a Chair, looking almost as grand and dignified as my friend, Mr. St. John, and all that time looking as pleased as possible while others were speaking; but I will not take my revenge to-day, but shall limit my remarks as much as possible. I was very much interested in the remarks of Mr. Roaf, telling you about the greater development of the Canadian population than that of the United States in the same time, and I thought he might have added, too, Sir, that the grand old Province of Quebec has had a great deal to do with the improvement of the population of Canada.

I can assure you that the men and women of Quebec work together in harmony in order to hasten the future greatness of our country. I remember in 1889 or 1890 the Parliament of the Province of Quebec introduced a Bill whereby every father of twelve children was to be entitled to one hundred acres of land. Now, we have immense vacant tracts of land in the Province of Quebec that are not occupied at all, and it seemed a very small thing to give to the father of twelve children one hundred acres of that reserve; but we soon found that we would not have enough acres to satisfy the demand, and as a matter of policy we reduced the grant of one hun-

dred acres to one of cash—\$50 to each parent of twelve children. Well, we thought we were doing pretty well and all we would have to do was to impose some taxes, do you see, and the treasury looked flourishing; but we soon found we would be entirely bankrupt if we continued to do it, and we passed a law to the effect that after the 30th June at twelve o'clock at night no father of twelve children would be entitled to the \$50. Well, if I were to tell you the petitions that poured in from the fathers of children on the first of July—it was almost enough to upset the Government. (Laughter.)

But I want to say a word seriously about our Province of Quebec. I know very well that in the audience before me there is no prejudice against another race. I remember when I went to the McGill Model School in Montreal it was a very common thing for the boys of our school to fight with the boys of the High School because we belonged to a different institution, and we used to fight with the boys of the French schools. That has long since passed away, and now throughout the entire Province of Quebec the utmost harmony and good feeling prevails. When I point out to you the kind of public men we have produced in the Province of Quebec, you will, I am sure, see in those names all the proof that is necessary of the genuineness of the sentiment felt in the sister Province of Quebec. Let me mention the names of Papineau, Lafontaine, Morin, Hincks, Rose, Drummond, McGee, Joly, Cartier, Holton, Dorion, Huntingdon, Chapleau, Mercier, and Laurier; men with sentiments and quality surely representing to some extent the breadth of the sentiments and view that predominate in the people of our Province! they surely leave their imprint upon the minds and characters of the people of the Province of Quebec and in that regard we have nothing to be ashamed of.

And I want to tell you this, that although there is a common impression that the people of the Province of Quebec are priest-ridden, there is no truth in the allegation. The records of the Courts are full of the protests made by the *habitants* against the clergy. They take

the priests to Court in actions of damages for slander and libel when it is necessary; they fight them on the tithe question, though when I say this I want you to understand there is no class of the community more respected or more revered than the clergy of the Province of Quebec. They understand the motives and the feelings of the people, and if at times they have over-stepped the limits of toleration the people are the first to bring them to time, and the very first to take action have been the farmers. Why, in '96, when their Lordships the Archbishops of the Province issued their manifestoes that the electors of the Province should only vote for those in favour of the Remedial Bill you know these souls by hundreds and thousands recorded their right to their own private judgments, and instead of going according to the mandamus of the Archbishops they gave a vote that asserted their independence as the electors of a free country. Why, at our last Quebec Session we had a Bill from the Town of Rimouski asking for the privilege to take Ecclesiastical property to construct a reservoir, drains, fire protection and electric light, and that Bill was opposed by the Bishop of the Diocese, and what was the result? It was also opposed by the Archbishop of Montreal. Yet three out of the four dioceses of Rimouski voted against the Bishop, and not a single member from the Arch-diocese of Montreal voted in accordance with the views of the Archbishop of Montreal. Does not that show that our citizens exercise their rights where they think they should be exercised?

Now, let me tell you another thing about the people of Quebec and I don't know if you can duplicate it in Canada. We have the great County of Pontiac, which is represented by a citizen of this Province, while the County of Argenteuil is also represented by a man whose interests are in the Province of Ontario. That shows that the people of Quebec recognize a good man when they see him, and in my humble way I reciprocated because when it came to be a matter of a choice to select the partner in the destinies of my life, where did I go

but to the City of Hamilton, in the Province of Ontario, to select a helpmate. A VOICE—Why didn't you get her here? MR. WEIR—I am sure if I had stopped off here the result might have been different. Let me point out another fact in regard to the people of the Province of Quebec, among the farmers particularly. A mortgage on farm land is almost an unknown thing and you can go through our towns and villages and not find any money lenders or any Loan Companies. The people, absolutely, have hardly a mortgage in the whole rural districts of the Province of Quebec and that speaks well for the industry of the people and such a people is a valuable asset to any country.

As to loyalty, we are not very imperialistic in Quebec. We haven't got to that stage yet, but there is one thing that is perfectly sure, as sure as the sun shines over all the land, and that is that the people of Quebec are loyal to the core to the country in which they live. They showed it in '76 during the time of the American Revolution; they showed it in 1812 when the *habitants* of Quebec, under de Salaberry, repulsed the American invasion, and in '37 when they also fought the enemy and kept their Province and their lands from invasion by a foreign foe; they showed it during the Fenian Raids; they showed it in '85 when scores and hundreds of our French-Canadians joined in going to the North-West to put down the Rebellion. They showed it at the time of the Boer war when many of them received recognition from Great Britain, and many who fell bore French-Canadian names and, I think, anyone who saw the send-off they received would never doubt that the hearts of the French-Canadians beat true to Canada and true to the great Empire to which we belong.

Let me instance another quality of our French-Canadian friends, and that is their great and over-powering sociability. There is no people so friendly or so social as the French-Canadian when he thinks his attentions will not be misconstrued. I can go through a district where I am known, in which there is one-half the population English and the other half French-Canadians, and

find as hearty, as warm, as genial, a welcome and reception in the cottage of the French farmer as I would in that of the English farmer. In the lower House, where there are seventy-four members speaking French and probably only ten English-speaking members, I can say—and every man can say the same thing—that never the slightest remark, never the slightest word is uttered to make us feel that we are in the minority. Certainly the reception and kindness accorded to the English members of the Quebec Legislature by the majority of that body is greatly to be commended.

One word about Education. I want to quote the figures that in 1897-98 we spent in the Province of Quebec, \$3,051,381, and in the years 1904-05, we had increased that amount by over a million of dollars—in seven short years we had increased the allowance for school purposes over one million dollars. That shows progress. We may not be doing all that we should do, but it shows the desire of the people all over the Province to advance the great and glorious cause of education. Besides that you know we have our system of convents and seminaries and private institutions, for which the people have to be drawn on, after all, in order to meet this expense, and these colleges are in a flourishing condition all over the Province. You cannot go through a village or town of any size but you will see a college or convent, which must be, as I said, supported out of the pockets of the people of the surrounding districts. There is one thing, perhaps, we are rather behind in as regards education, and that is the establishment of technical schools and colleges. We have been turning rather to the classical and literary and we have produced men of the highest order in these lines, but from a practical point of view it is desirable that more technical schools should be established and the intention of the Government is to forward that idea and that desire as much as possible.

Now one reason why our Province has not developed as rapidly as we would desire—and I think I said a few minutes ago, but very little over ten per cent. of our

land is occupied—is that we have been tied in, limited to some extent by the Alleghanies to the south of us and the Laurentian range of hills to the north; and also that our position has not tended to the construction of railways, while you are sandwiched in between the East and the North-West, and any railway that is built must pass through the Province of Ontario, and that has aided your railway development; whereas those railways do not pass through the north part of our Province, but they come to the City of Montreal or cut off the south-west corner of our Province and go to Portland or New York. So our railway construction has not kept pace with that in Ontario. You in Ontario have, or had in 1904, 30:54 square miles of area to each mile of track, while in Quebec we have 97:37 square miles to each mile of track, which shows a railway development in Ontario nearly three times greater than in the Province of Quebec. But there is no doubt that the future to some extent will smile upon us. The construction of the Grand Trunk Pacific over the Laurentian Mountains and through the northern part of the Province of Quebec is sure to open up a large and valuable portion of our Province, for to the Grand Trunk Pacific there will be built up numerous branch lines which will help to develop and colonize that part and help the other industries throughout the Province of Quebec. And, more than that, we have chartered during the last year a railway line which will be built from the City of Montreal to the far east—to Labrador—when from the seaboard of that section of our Province to Great Britain a passage of the Atlantic Ocean may be made in three and a half days. That will open up vast regions of mineral lands. The finest iron deposits on the continent of America are to be found in Labrador and those will be opened up by means of that railway.

The area of Quebec is 347,000 square miles, an area equal to France and Prussia combined, and seven times as large as the Empire State of New York to the south of us. We have 200,000,000 acres of land that have not yet been conceded. Let me tell you that in the Lake

Temiscamingue country, into that lake there drain tributaries draining some 18,000,000 acres of land of Quebec, a very small portion of which has as yet been slightly settled, and from Lake Abitiibi to James' Bay we are told there are splendid agricultural lands. The Ottawa River, which divides our Provinces, is 800 miles long, and its Quebec tributaries, the LeMoine, 130 miles; the Black River, 135 miles; the Colonge, 160 miles; the Gatineau, 260 miles; the Le Lievre, 220 miles; the Rouge, 120 miles; the North, 70 miles; and the L'Assumption, 100 miles. Pontiac, on the Ottawa River, embraces an area of 21,000 square miles, twice the area of the Kingdom of Belgium, and twice the size of Holland, or the size of Switzerland, Denmark and Servia, and all this a single County in the Province of Quebec. The River St. Maurice is 350 miles long and it has many, many tributaries which are over a hundred miles in length. It drains 18,000 square miles—and those are only samples of the rivers of the Province of Quebec.

Our forest area is 327,721 square miles. It has been calculated that if we sold out our forests to-morrow we would get as a bonus—calculated at a very low rate—the Province would receive some \$18,000,000; and for stumpage fees, if the trees were cut immediately, no less a sum than \$420,000,000, so that the Province of Quebec has considerable resources to be developed at some future day. Now, while I am telling you of the vast reserves of the Province of Quebec I don't want any of you to repeat it, even to our friend, Sir Wilfrid Laurier, because we are after him for "better terms," and I wouldn't like to prejudice our cause.

Now, let me tell you about the Lake St. John region. Lake St. John is beyond the Laurentian Mountains at the head of the Saguenay River. A few years ago it was a comparatively unknown district, but to-day there are seven Townships settled around Lake St. John and on that lake there are fourteen large steamers. The water-powers of these rivers are of enormous extent, and there are the best wheat-fields of the Province around the shores of Lake St. John to-day, and there is

the best tobacco in the Province grown around the shores of Lake St. John, and there are altogether to-day more than 50,000 people who have gone into that District and are still going in at the rate of 3,000 per annum. Now that is a development of the Province, in one small section of it, of which we are very proud. Up that lake and along its tributaries there ply daily no less than fourteen steamers and forty car-loads of freight per day are taken from that District to the City of Quebec for shipment and distribution in other parts.

Our pulp industry is one of great magnitude. All over the Province of Quebec the pulp and paper industry has taken giant strides during the past few years, and I want to emphasize the remark made by Senator Edwards when he said that everything that grows in our forest lands is valuable, is of great value; that in these days of electrical development and the advancement of chemistry use can be made of everything that grows in our forests; and I want to say that our pulp lands are practically inexhaustible. He said that the Company to which he belonged owned some 760 square miles of forest lands and that it had been calculated that the Company would produce 50,000 cords of pulp-wood per annum, and the 760 miles of pulp-wood was practically inexhaustible because while they were cutting one part the other parts would be growing up, and by the time they again got round it would be grown ready for use.

Let me point out in the matter of water-powers, that the Shawinigan Falls on the St. Maurice River have been the scene of tremendous growth in manufacturing industries on account of the water-powers there. More than that, it sends into the City of Montreal, ninety-nine miles away, power that is calculated to be the equivalent of 600,000 tons of coal per annum. Taking that as a basis you will see the enormous possibilities of electric power development of Quebec. Let me quote another fact that on the River Peribonka, a tributary of Lake St. John, there are no less than seven falls in a space of five or six miles, capable of giving 300,000 horse-power, and around that Lake St. John, at a dis-

tance from two to fifty miles, the horse-power of the water falls is estimated at 653,000 horse-power.

Now I have the mines. The mineral development in Quebec has not been very great, but I can point you to the District of Thetford, which a few years ago consisted of barren hills and which to-day, through the discovery of asbestos, has become the seat of a population of over 10,000 people on its hill sides. We have the same geological formation in the north of the Province as you have in New Ontario, the same Huronic belt, and we can find there galena and asbestos and silver and probably cobalt and nickel also. There are hundreds of miles, too, of magnetic iron sands on the shores of the Gulf of St. Lawrence, in the Labrador region, which the development of science will yet make valuable. Our fishery exports amounted to about two and a half million dollars in 1903. Our fish industry in the James Bay and the Hudson's Bay is pretty hard to estimate, but I do know this, that in the beginning of last summer some enterprising capitalists started a whale-fishing industry in the Gulf of St. Lawrence, with the Bay of Seven Islands as their headquarters, and they constructed their factories, they purchased their ships, and at the end of the season they declared a dividend of twenty-five per cent. Now that was an unknown industry in Quebec, which has been developed in the last year or two—the fishing for whales in the St. Lawrence.

There is just one black feature from my point of view, and that is the regrettable fact that the English-speaking people are leaving the Province and the farmers are going to the North-West, whereas I think it would be better if some scheme could be devised whereby our English-speaking farmers could be induced to remain in our Province, because they are invaluable as interpreters between the French people and the other Provinces. However, that is going on through no fault of the French majority, but because the English farmers are anxious to see the farm land further west, and they will go to the western part of Canada unless some counter action is set up in the development of the

minerals and manufacturing industries of the Province through the development of the great water-powers which I have referred to. But to-day the situation is this, that while the English population of Quebec may be increasing, that increase is almost totally confined to the cities, while in the rural districts the English population is dying out very rapidly; and that, as I say, is the only black point of view that I have to refer to in connection with the future of the Province.

Now, I hope I have said enough to show you that the future of the Province of Quebec is very bright indeed, that there should be no reason why any sentiment of discord should exist between the people of our Province and the people of the other Provinces of the Dominion; no reason why we should not work together in unity and harmony to develop a grand democratic country on this Continent of America. Our friends to the south of us, we wish them all God speed, but it is patent they have their own troubles of a very serious nature, their labour troubles and so on. With the different sentiments of the North and South and the East and West, they have their hands full to work out their own future, but I am confident that we on the northern portion of the Continent are capable and able to build up a nation equal if not superior in every respect to the great American Republic, and one that will make to our own glory and the glory of the great Empire to which we belong.



LIEUT.-COLONEL HUGH CLARK, M.P.
Of Kincardine, Ont.



EMPIRE CONDITIONS AND IMPERIAL DEFENCE.

Address by Lieut.-Colonel Hugh Clark, M.P.P., before the
Empire Club of Canada, on May 14th, 1906.

Mr. President and Gentlemen of the Empire Club,—

Your ease and dignity and complacency, as well as your altogether companionableness, leads one to think that you are quite at home as an Empire Club in Canada. It leads me to suppose that you are not worrying much about the destiny of this land of your adoption, if not of your birth. At meetings of this sort it is too often the custom for speakers to dilate upon what they conceive to be the destiny of Canada. I shall not do that. I consider the matter settled in a little passage at arms that took place between a Hamilton paper and a Buffalo paper. The Buffalo paper said that Canada did not know enough to come out of the Rain Britannia, and the Hamilton paper said she knew enough at least to keep out of the Hail Columbia!

There was a General here a few weeks ago who spoke to a similar Club to this upon the beauties of peace. I agree with everything he said. I would do almost anything for peace myself, but I can't say that I would go so far as to agree to have peace at any price. I should not, for example, for the sake of having universal peace, like to see every Irishman in Canada die of *ennui*, and I am afraid that is exactly what would happen in such a contingency. (Laughter.) But while it was all right and very beautiful to speak in that way of universal peace and to desire it, yet we all must recognize the fact that so long as the world endures and man is man so long may we look for something else than peace, while praying for peace. So long as the human impulse is to strike back at the man who strikes you or insults you, so long may we expect to have something else besides

peace, at intervals, and consequently it will be almost a necessity to have armies and navies. Our armies are nothing more than national police and our navy is nothing more than police to protect our maritime commerce, and while we are in that position it is our greatest duty to remember what has been frequently said before, that the greatest assurance of peace we can have is preparedness for war.

I don't know that Great Britain—the Imperial forces of Great Britain—were ever better prepared than they are to-day, and yet I suppose that in every stage of that country's history, when the country is not at war, there are people who really believe that their fighting forces have gone to the dogs. I suppose for years after the Armada was defeated the people in England thought we had no such men as Drake and Frobisher. I suppose after the Marlborough victories there was a period in which they thought much the same, that the glory of England had died there. I suppose that after Waterloo we had the same period when everybody thought that Britain's fighting forces were on the wane. I suppose that after the Crimea—I am speaking about events I don't know of because I was unavoidably absent in those days—but I suppose when the Crimea was over some thought that the day when Britain could force her way and make her name feared among all nations had gone by.

I can remember when everybody thought that we would never again know such a thing as the charge of the Light Brigade. It was a blunder, but it was an inspiration and it has been thought so ever since. And I can remember that previous to the South African war and previous to the other war that occurred in Afghanistan, we had that idea that Britain's forces were on the wane, and I can remember with a great deal of pleasure after the battle of Dargai Gap—for I am Scotch myself—that Richard Mansfield in New York was asked to recite a poem composed by himself, night after night for several weeks, which ran:

- "Bulldogs, hark, did your courage fail?
Bulldogs, hark, did your glory pale?
What of the slander that says 'decayed,'
'Gone to the dogs since the Light Brigade.'
For the blood and the bone that humbled Nap.,
'Twas there again, boys, at Dargai Gap.
- "Did you hear the swish of the flying shot?
The roll of the drum and the rattle-pot?
The music that rose clear over that yell
Thrilled through our ranks and raised up hell?
Come, Highland Laddie, head up and step forth:
A crown of glory—'Cock o' the North.'
- "You 'Cock o' the North,' aye, pipe away;
With both stumps gone and you led the way.
You may lean your head against comrades now,
They'll moisten your lips; they'll kiss your brow;
For you fought like men; and a man may weep
When he lays a man to his last long sleep.
- "Bulldogs who sleep on the Dargai ridge
Fall in! Quick march! and over the bridge;
With the pipers ahead and the same old air
To pipe you to heaven and veterans there;
And you'll tell the heroes who humbled Nap.
The glorious story of Dargai Gap."

Britain's history will never be without such illustrious examples of what Britain's fighting forces can do, and when we speak of our Imperial forces I am reminded of what a magnificent history of expansion and progress the meaning of that word "Imperial" has undergone. I can remember seven or eight years ago when you used the word "Imperial forces" you thought of the old line regiments of the Old Country, but when you speak of them to-day you speak not only of those old line regiments but of the forces in Canada and in Australia and the other dependencies beyond the seas, and I don't know that I need say anything in praise of what our forces, the Imperial forces, have done in the recent war. It may take the British soldier a longer time than it takes other soldiers to accustom himself to environments—he is very conservative. I am speaking now not politically—he can't be too conservative in that way for me.

It took the British soldier a very long time to get accustomed to the idea of sneaking behind the stacks and

wheat and things. He liked to stand up like a man and fight it out. It was a sneaking kind of business, but we had to do it, and the soldier to-day and for many years to come will have to do the same thing. We are not going to now estimate a soldier's fighting qualities by the way he loses his life on the battlefield; we estimate it more by the number of lives he is able to take while saving his own. The British soldier, while conservative, while exceedingly conservative, is after all to-day what he was not before, an intelligent unit; not a little bit of mechanism, a bit of skilled mechanism may be—he is more than that. He has to exercise individuality to-day. He is not as he was in the years gone by when they had the solid squares of Waterloo and when one man did just as his right-hand neighbour did. To-day the field of battle may extend along the front of forty or fifty miles and orders may be given by long distance telephone and telegraph instead of gallopers. But if a man wants to fight for the Empire he must exercise his own individuality and initiative. He has got to be an intelligent fighting machine, and it is worth the price.

Those who are engaged in Imperial defence have a great thing to fight for. They fight to make Great Britain what she is to-day, to maintain her position at the far front of nations and to make the bounds of freedom wider yet. They fight to protect the old flag, the old flag that is, as Cecil Rhodes said, the greatest asset that the Empire possesses. They fight for the integrity of a great nation, which, as Lord Rosebery said, is the greatest agency outside of Christ existing for the good of the world. The Imperial forces which fight not only at home but abroad can say with the greatest degree of truth that—

“ Wherever the wind of heaven blows over the human race,
There waves a mighty banner that has never known disgrace ;
Wherever the trackless ocean is plied by a British keel,
The home of the whale and the walrus, in the place of the
 bounding seal ;
In the regions of endless summer, in the land of continual night,
We have carried that deathless ensign, with watchword, ‘ God
 and right.’ ”



MR. J. P. DOWNEY, M.P.P.

Of Guelph, Ont.

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EMPIRE CONDITIONS AND PROBLEMS.

Address by Mr. J. P. Downey, M.P.P., before the Empire Club of Canada, on May 14th, 1906.

Mr. President and Members of the Empire Club,—

You observed, Sir, in the gracious remarks with which you opened the proceedings here to-night that when the request reached you that you should preside over the destinies of this Club you accepted the responsibility of that office with a great deal of reluctance. Well, Sir, in contradistinction to your attitude on that occasion, I want to remind you that when my good friend, Mr. J. Castell Hopkins, honoured me with an invitation I accepted that invitation with the greatest possible cheerfulness, with the greatest possible alacrity, but I think Mr. Hopkins owes an explanation to this audience. I think, if I remember correctly, that he gave me the impression that it was to be quite an informal meeting, and if we should be called upon for a few remarks they need only be of a very informal character, and consequently I looked forward with a great deal of pleasurable anticipation to sitting at the feet, as it were, of the members of the Empire Club, and learning from them lessons as to how we in this Province of Ontario and in this Dominion of Canada should best promote that cause which constitutes, I apprehend, the very foundation stone of this Association; that cause, the dominant note of which rings through every one of your meetings.

I did not come here, Mr. Chairman and gentlemen, with the expectation at all of being able to say anything that would be profitable, that would give new or fresh inspiration to the members of this great organization. The bases of your Association are not, as my friend, Colonel Clark, intimated in his opening remarks, altogether in your companionableness and good fellowship. The purpose of your Club is not good fellowship! The

object of your Club is not to meet once a week in order that you may enjoy the companionship of the good fellows who constitute the membership of this Club. The purpose of your Club, Sir, is not to intensify the loyalty that already flows up through the heart of every member of this Association. I take it the purpose of your Club is to make your members and those whom your members can influence realize to a greater and deeper extent than they have realized in the past the situation which this mighty aggregation of self-governing peoples, known as the British Empire, now finds itself in. It is not to intensify your loyalty. It is to seek out new methods of inculcating the ideal of Imperialism in this great Dominion and the ideal of Imperialism in our great sister commonwealth of Australia, and in New Zealand, South Africa, the Crown Colonies, and the Islands of the sea which compose this vast aggregation of self-governing peoples. Therefore, it might be proper to say one brief word or two about what the British Empire means to the people that are blessed with the privilege of living under the folds of the Union Jack, and to the people even outside the bounds of this great Empire.

The British Empire is a unique political conception. It differs widely from that ancient empire which we all have read of, the great Roman Empire, that old empire that was ruled over by Cæsar. That was an Empire that was ruled by despotism, with a despot whose chief motive was greater conquests; not because Cæsar wanted to carry civilization beyond the bounds of the Empire that he then ruled, but in order to build up a mighty empire for the benefit of those materially concerned in its welfare and in its prosperity. It was a despotic empire built up for the purpose of aggregation and conquest. Different it is, too, from that other Empire which is regarded by many as the glory of the Middle Ages, known as the Holy Roman Empire, which gave for three centuries or thereabouts a splendid rule and gave to history the most magnificent procession of German Hierarchies that the world has ever seen, beginning with Otto the Great and ending with Frederick

the Second. And it is different from any other Empire that we have in the world to-day.

Leading historians unite in saying that the Imperial idea dominates three great nations at the present time—Great Britain, Russia and the United States—and looking at those three we find that Great Britain occupies a unique and clear position in contradistinction to the others. In the Russian Empire we find an inheritance, so to speak, of the principles and purposes that underlay and dominated the empire of Julius Cæsar, despotic aggregation and conquest being its abiding purpose. In the United States we find that the national idea overtops and dominates the imperial idea, and they have put on record their views on the matter. The United States was founded not with the idea of becoming a world empire or a world nation, and the genius of the American Constitution seeks only to provide for the prosperity, the well-being, and the happiness of the people who are pledged to live under the Stars and Stripes. By accident, it is true, the United States has become a world-power, but the United States to-day finds itself more concerned in the promotion of the National idea, in the promotion, still, of the State idea, than in the extension of the dreams of those who would make it a still greater world empire.

Turning to Great Britain we find this, we find that while in every movement that has gone on for the increasing of the prestige and power of the British Empire and the promotion and good and happiness of the people of all nations, we find in the doing of this thought has always been had for the peace and happiness and contentment of the nation itself. The Nationalist and the Imperialist find a happy combination in the British Empire, and there alone the National and the Imperial ideas go hand-in-hand. The men at home who have all along contended, and some of them are contending to-day, Sir, that the Government of Great Britain should give their first and only thought to the good government of the people who live in the British Isles and that the Colonies should look out for them-

selves; these men are aiding, I take it, Sir, the cause of Imperialism because they exert at some times probably a wholesome restraining influence upon those who would carry to extremes the other idea; and that constitutes the happy whole that makes up our National and Imperial aspirations at the present time.

Now, Sir, we sometimes hear criticisms of Great Britain, that her foreign wars were inspired by desire of conquest and lust for new territory, and yet, Sir, I do not suppose that the nation has ever lived, or will ever live, whose history shows down through all the centuries so marked a desire to refrain from conquest and so absolute a determination not to reap the fruits of conquest. Why, Sir, the abandoned possessions of Great Britain would constitute the greatest colonial empire that any nation outside of Great Britain possesses to-day. It is not necessary for me to enumerate them. You are all familiar with them. Starting away back with Guadeloupe and Martinique—three times was Guadeloupe handed back without any consideration whatever, and five times Martinique was handed back without any consideration to Great Britain, after they had conquered that possession. Take the Island of Cuba, where they sacrificed five thousand men before Morro Castle and gave a fitting reprimand to Spain for her double dealing with France; but no sooner was the war over than Great Britain rewarded Spain by handing back the Island of Cuba—an island which is now regarded as a most valuable dependency of the United States. And the same way with Java, some six hundred miles from farther India, conquered by Great Britain and handed back, after five years of splendid administration under Sir Stamford Raffles, which elevated that Colony far above what it had ever known before. And what about the Ionian Islands? What about Malta and the many islands of the sea that one after another have been conquered by Great Britain and handed back without any consideration whatever.

I recall these things, not because you are not familiar with them, but because it is well to remind ourselves

of occasions of this kind. We are here to consider our duties and it is well to impress upon ourselves the lesson that history teaches us, and that lesson is, as it has been well put, that in a fit of absence of mind we have created the greatest Empire that the world has ever seen. Why, Sir, if there is a destiny that shapes the ends of individuals, rough-hew them as we will, there has been a destiny surely shaping the ends of the great British Empire by putting into the hands of this mighty power, this great agency for good, the possessions that are in every sea and in every continent of the civilized world to-day. And, Sir, the attitude of Great Britain towards the possessions that she has acquired from time to time has been quite in harmony with the utterances of her public men. It was in the late Sixties or Seventies before there was anybody in the Motherland of any considerable importance who thought it worth while to rise up and say that the Colonies were of any advantage whatever, and it is striking to notice what the utterances of some men whom we have learned to regard in more recent years as Imperial statesmen were forty or fifty years ago.

The Duke of Newcastle would have seen a dissolution of the Old Land and Canada with the greatest pleasure. Sir Henry Taylor called the Colonies a troublesome heritage and Lord Salisbury, in a speech delivered in the Guild Hall, said that he viewed with disapproval the colonizing of the Cape and New Zealand. You will remember, gentlemen, that these utterances but reflected the disposition of the Motherland in those days; they reflected the feeling of the people in Great Britain who saw these mighty possessions that they had in the various parts of the world, but did not look far enough to see that if they were men of courage and put their hands to the duty that came before them and realized the immensity of the responsibilities that this vast Empire placed upon them, they could make of it what Lord Rosebery has described and what Colonel Clark has quoted, an agency for good, not alone for the people belonging to and pledged to live within its

borders, but an agency for the general good of the whole civilized world.

Now, Sir, I do not know that it would be fitting, since I know that there are some other things that you have to proceed with, to take up much of your time on any particular phase of the Imperial question. I apprehend, Sir, that from time to time before the members of your Club men have spoken who have made a study of the many questions as they come up for solution, and it would be presumption on my part were I to take up your time in any endeavour to repeat in a scattered and less effective way arguments that have been forcibly and logically advanced before you during the year which has drawn to a close. But let me tell you that I think the people of Great Britain, the people of the Mother-land and the people of the Colonies, have not come to realize and appreciate the immensity of the question that is now knocking at our very doors. It is there and it can't be evaded and it can't be shelved. It can't be eluded. It must be grappled with and that is the question that has been thrown into the political arena by Joseph Chamberlain in the Mother-land.

It is all very well to say, as some people assert, that we should leave well enough alone, that the tie of kinship which now binds us and the scattered Colonies of the Empire to the Mother-land, that that thread of kinship is strong enough to endure, and that Great Britain and her Colonies can go on down the centuries without any strengthening of the ties. I hope it is not necessary that that tie should be supported or supplemented. But surely it is the part of business wisdom and discretion, looking abroad and seeing how many are the forces that are making for disruption; surely it is the part of national wisdom, at any rate, for the men in the Old Land and the men in the Colonies, leaders of thought, leaders in the various governing bodies, to take counsel together and endeavour to arrive at some scheme to make it beneficial in a national sense, as well as in a political sense, for the Colonies to remain a part of the British Empire. I give you a

motto, said Mr. Chamberlain, addressing the Manufacturer's Association on their recent visit there, "Let us buy of one another." Is it such a stupendous, impossible motto to abide by, to hang up in Canada, and to hang up in every Colony in the British Empire?

At the present time we are not buying as much from Great Britain as we should. Looking over the trade returns recently I found that while Great Britain takes forty-six per cent. of the Canadian exports that Canada only purchases twenty-five per cent. of its imports from Great Britain. The Australian Colonies do better. New Zealand buys sixty per cent. of her imports and sends sixty per cent. to Great Britain. Australia buys some seventy per cent. of her imports from Great Britain and sends in the neighborhood of forty per cent. of her exports to Great Britain. On the whole, looking over all the Colonies we find that considerable less than half of the imports are purchased from the Mother-land. The foreign nations, in other words, enjoy half the trade of the Colonies of Great Britain, while the Mother-country has to be content with the lesser part of that trade. Now surely this should be capable of remedy. Mr. Chamberlain has pointed out an easy solution of the problem. He has pointed out that certain necessities of life, such as tea and coffee, are taxed. To hear some of the opponents of Mr. Chamberlain you would almost think that everything came in there free, that nothing was taxed at all. Mr. Chamberlain says the solution is easy. Let us shift the taxation from tea and sugar and coffee over to the flour and meat. Necessaries of life they are, it is true, but not more necessary than the articles that are now taxed, and if that were done what would be the result?

A small tax, a small preference given to the wheat produced in this country and the flour produced in this country and the meat produced here; the same in Australia and New Zealand and the other parts of the Empire; would give to the Colonies a very real reason—apart altogether from those of loyalty and kinship and friendship that must endure to the end—a material

reason, for continuing their relations with the Mother-land. Let me point out to you that the day has come. The day has come when Canada can well say to the Mother-land, we are in a position, come what may, to be the granary of the British Empire in times of peace, in times of stress, in times of war. Lord Strathcona, speaking not long since, said that in ten years Canada could produce enough grain to supply the whole of the Mother-land. Mr. Theodore Knappen, interested in one of the great flouring centres of the United States, has said that in ten years the North-West of Canada would be able to supply Great Britain with 250,000,000 bushels of wheat annually. One of the Dominion Government officials makes a calculation that of fifty-seven districts in the North-West Territories any one of them, if cultivated and if the average yield came up to the average yield of Manitoba for the past fifteen years, would supply enough grain to feed the whole of the Mother-land.

This gives us an idea of the immensity of our resources and of our power to co-operate with the Mother-land by sending our raw material in the shape of grain and flour and meats and taking back from her something that need not be in competition with our manufactures. No, but taking back a portion at any rate of that which we are now importing from the United States. Do you know that our imports from the United States have increased year by year at a greater ratio or percentage than the increase from the Mother-land? In fact, for about two or three years, there was an actual decrease of imports from the Mother-land. As the years go on the United States will become less and less able to provide Great Britain with food products. At the present time the lands of the United States are nearly all taken up. The great prairies of the United States are all settled and the immigration is now crowding into the centres and will have to be fed, and in the future the amount of flour and grain to export will be becoming gradually less; and at the same time Great Britain is year by year requiring more flour, more

bread, more meat than at the present time. In 1875 the population of Great Britain was 31,000,000, and she had under cultivation 3,737,000 acres. In 1901 her population had grown from 31,000,000 to 41,000,000, but instead of having over three and a half million acres her acreage had decreased by 951,000, showing conclusively that while they are increasing in population, and while the capacity of the United States to supply that market must gradually decrease as the years go on, and our ability to provide increases, Great Britain will be more and more compelled to take our products.

Now that is rather a dry subject and one which has, I suppose, been touched on by other gentlemen who have addressed your Club. But let me say this, that I think the question which Mr. Chamberlain has raised is a question, as he has put it, which should be absolutely above party. Unfortunately the political parties of the Mother-land divided on his proposition and, so far as the seats in the Imperial House go, he suffered a very severe defeat, though if you look into the figures, the aggregate votes recorded for and against his proposition in that election, you will find that the majority is very small, that some forty-five, I think, out of every hundred voted in favour of the proposition by Mr. Chamberlain. But I care not what the result of that election may have been or the result of other elections may be; I care not what the attitude of the Dominion of Canada may be, or what it may be for the next ten or twenty years; I am satisfied that the people of Great Britain and the people of the Colonies must take up that question and they must deal with it along the practical statesman-like lines laid down by Mr. Chamberlain; or else, I fear, Sir, the picture that he has drawn will be realized and that instead of coming closer together we may drift further and further apart.

It is not a pleasing picture to contemplate. It is a picture I hope we will never be called upon to contemplate. It is useless for gentlemen to get up in Canada and say, we have given a preference to British products, to the products of her factories and as a result certain

industries have been affected. That may be so. We can't hope, Sir, as a Dominion, to enter into an arrangement for mutual trade within the Empire without bringing about some changes, and if we hope to bring about an arrangement all to our own advantage and all on our side, then we haven't the proper disposition to enter into an arrangement at all. We are not concerned about any arrangement because the very fact that we look for the advantage all on our side would indicate to sensible, rational, people that if the give and take principle is not in the contract then there is no desire for a contract.

Now, Mr. Chairman and gentlemen, I listened with a great deal of pleasure and satisfaction to Colonel Clark's reference to the splendid position that the Imperial forces occupy to-day. As a soldier himself he has been able to speak to you in a practical, may I say business-like way, of the great revolution that has taken place in reference to the military forces; but as one who has had no hand or part in military matters so far during my life—and I see no immediate prospect of being made a General here in Canada at any rate—I want to say that the lesson of the South African war was the lesson that Colonel Clark impressed upon us to-night. Up to the time of the South African war there was a disposition or tendency among ourselves to count the might or strength of the great powers of Europe by their standing armies. Germany was a mighty military Power, because she had an enormous standing army; France the same, judging by her well-trained soldiers. Russia was an immense Power with her millions upon millions of soldiers, and so we measured the might of these great Powers by the numbers of their standing armies, and Great Britain was low down in the scale. The South African war taught us and the world a signal lesson that the might of Great Britain was not only to be measured by the numbers of her standing armies, but by the millions upon millions of far-born sons across the seas; the millions who responded to the call when the Empire was in danger, when one by one the whelps of the lion

answered to the call. On the battlefields of South Africa were buried the last remnants of that party known as the Little Englander party and their graves are the graves of the men who died fighting for the cause that Great Britain had espoused in that country. The men from New Zealand came, and the men from the far plains of Australia and our own men from Toronto and from the Provinces to the east and west, who fought and died came; and from their graves there has grown a mightier and greater Imperialism.

There is now a greater responsibility resting upon us, if we only realized it, greater still in its possibilities, in promoting, in furthering and achieving, the arts of peace. Canada has her part to play. Canada has done well. Canada has built from ocean to ocean a great imperial highway making a route from the Mother-land, from Great Britain to her possessions in the East, independent of any other nation on the face of the globe. Canada has taken over Halifax and Esquimalt and is carrying on these two posts now and she is indicating that she is desirous of promoting still further her union with the Mother-land. But we look out into the sea and we see our commerce and we shout that we are the fifth maritime power in the world to-day, and we see our commerce travelling over every sea safely guarded by Britain's navy, and then we go down to the Union Station, Toronto, and we see hundreds and hundreds of Englishmen and Irishmen and Scotchmen, and we say, you are the men who in the Old Land have been paying the taxes that have protected our commerce on the seas. Is that right? Is it a self-respecting, honourable part to continue doing as we are? Australia and the other Colonies are doing some little in the way of showing their appreciation. Supposing—and let us suppose it—that danger never can menace our shores, supposing the footstep of the invader shall never re-echo on this Canadian soil, surely for the protection of our commerce on the seas it is necessary that the British navy should be kept up to its present high status and we should do something towards defraying the expense of that navy.

Mr. Chairman and gentlemen, we have behind us a record of which any people would be proud. We are the heirs in possession of the glorious traditions of an Empire on whose dominions, as someone has said, the sun never sets, whose morning drum-beat following the sun, circling with the west, keeps time to one continuous strain of the martial airs of England. We are heirs in possession of the glorious achievements of the men who have died fighting for the liberties that we now enjoy. We are descendants of the grand old pioneers who came into this country, and who beat back the wilderness, who through loneliness and trial have paved the pathways we now in safety are privileged to tread. But we have our duty to perform in the present and we will be faithless and unworthy of those sires, we will be unworthy of this inheritance, if we do not realize the fact that we owe a duty to the Empire at the present time by endeavouring to bring about a consummation of the policy that has been enunciated by Mr. Chamberlain, and if we do that we will have reason, I am satisfied, as one of the partners in that great aggregation of nations, and our children and our children's children shall have reason, to be grateful in the years that are to come for what we endeavoured to achieve.

WHAT CANADA CAN GIVE FOR A BRITISH PREFERENCE.

Address by Mr. Archibald McGoun, M.A., B.C.L., K.C., Professor of Civil Law in McGill University, Montreal, before the Empire Club of Canada on Dec. 7th, 1905.

Mr. Chairman and Gentlemen,—

In examining the Census volume describing the manufacturing industries of Canada, and in comparing these with Trade and Navigation tables, it can be conclusively demonstrated that not more than 25% of the manufacturing industries have anything at all to fear from the freest possible competition with the United Kingdom. I can give the fullest details on this subject, but the whole result may be generalized in a very brief statement.

Including the cotton and woollen industries, and all the men's and women's clothing made in any establishment employing more than five hands; including also hosiery and knitted goods, linen manufactures, tanned and finished leather, gloves and mittens, hats, caps and furs, cutlery and edge tools, and even iron and steel products; including also malt liquors, glass, earthenware and china and sugar refining, which comprise the only industries employing more than one thousand hands each and a long list of others which employ less than that number of hands; I find that the total number of hands engaged in all the industries in which the competition of the United Kingdom appears to have any importance number 86,000 hands out of over 340,000 employed in all the manufacturing industries.

It appears, moreover, that those dependent upon all the manufacturing and mechanical industries form rather less than one-fifth of the population of Canada, and if we take for granted that every employee represents the same number of persons dependent upon him that the people en-

gaged in other occupations represent, we find that very considerably less than 300,000 people out of 5,300,000 people are all that would be affected by British competition. The remaining people to the number of 5,000,000, including three-quarters of our manufacturing industries, would be very greatly benefited by any change in the tariff that would reduce the duties on imports from the Mother Country.

But let us look at the question. What rate of duty would reasonably suffice to protect even those engaged in the industries I have named from such competition, resulting either from a difference in rate of wages, or from any duties that they may require to pay upon their raw materials. The difference in rate of wages can be ascertained by taking the Census returns upon the principal industries above named, and comparing them with the statistics published (33 Enc. Brit., 716) showing the corresponding rate of wages in the United Kingdom.

Taking all of these statements together, and selecting the figures showing the greatest difference I can find in respect of the rate of wages, it appears that the difference between Canada and the United Kingdom amounts to slightly under 31%, or to be exact, 30·88%, the weekly wages being equal to \$5.64 for men in the United Kingdom, against \$8.16 for men in Canada, a difference of \$2.52 a week. The figures for women and children need not be added, but they rather accentuate the same general conclusions. The proportion which the cost of labour bears to the output of the factories in all the industries is 23·55% of the products, including not only wages proper but also the salaries paid to those employed on salary, and including also amounts paid to owners themselves for whom allowance is made by way of salary, and assuming that the difference in salaries is at the same rate as the difference in wages.

Applying this to all industries, it appears that a rate of 7·27% upon the value of the products is all the duty that is required to meet the difference in wages. Applying this percentage to textiles alone, the rate is 8·78%, while in iron and steel products the rate comes to 10·44%.

The manufacturers even go the length of pretending that the country ought to protect them to the extent of the difference in the rate of interest they have to pay for borrowed capital, and for the cost of fuel and other incidental expenses resulting from difference of climate and other causes. These are also stated in the Census, and to cover these items for all the industries would increase the average rate from 7·27% to 10·58%. When I mentioned these figures to the Tariff Commission, I told them that I thought they covered everything except the duties that might be paid by manufacturers in Canada upon the materials used in the manufactories, and Mr. Paterson asked me whether I had made any estimate of these. I had not done so at the time, but I have since gone into this point with respect to two of the most important industries, namely, cottons and woollens.

COTTONS.—As to cottons, the Census returns show the value of the products of the Canadian mills is something over \$12,000,000, while the materials described as crude are of the value of about \$5,000,000. These apparently represent raw cotton or cotton wool and waste, of which the import in the several years between 1900 and 1904 amounted to sums varying from \$3,500,000 up to \$6,400,000, all of which are admitted duty free. If the whole of the materials thus described as crude are admitted free of duty, then there remain the materials described as partly manufactured, and these amount to about \$400,000. Assuming that these have been charged with duty at the average rate upon all dutiable imports, namely, 26·24%, we find that the duties charged amount to about \$105,000, which represents a percentage of 0·87% upon the \$12,000,000 of goods produced.

Adding this 0·87% to the 8·78% required for protection against difference of wages in the textile industry, we get a rate of 9·65% as the duty required to put the Canadian manufacturer on a par with his English competitors in the matter of wages and salaries and for the payment of duties of raw materials.

If the whole \$5,000,000 described as crude materials were not admitted free of duty, these figures would have to be modified, and it will have to be ascertained as accurately as possible what the amount of duty actually is collected upon the raw materials used in the manufacture of cotton.

WOOLLENS.—As to woollens, the Census shows the value of the products as something over \$7,000,000, the crude materials slightly over \$3,100,000 and the partly manufactured materials about \$700,000. (Census p. 146.) The crude materials are apparently made up of wool imported without any other change except being washed, of which the import in 1900 was \$1,300,000. If we add to this the wool grown on the farms in Canada, amounting to over \$1,800,000, we get a total of \$3,200,000, which is slightly in excess of the crude materials mentioned as employed in the woollen factories. Besides these there were nearly \$300,000 worth of cotton, woollen and linen rags imported in 1900 free of duty. It appears pretty certain, therefore, that the crude materials mentioned in the Census were all admitted free of duty. As to the woollen materials partly manufactured, these apparently include woollen yarn imported by manufacturers amounting in 1900 to \$175,000 on which the duty is given. Assuming that the remainder of the raw materials, partly manufactured, paid duty at the average rate of 26·24%, this would amount to about \$160,000 levied as duties which would be a rate of 2·24% on the value of the products of the woollen materials, namely, on \$7,000,000. Adding this to the rate estimated as representing the difference in rate of wages, 8·78%, we get a rate of 11·02% as sufficient to protect the woollen manufacturers from difference in rate of wages and to enable them to pay the duties upon their raw materials.

I imagine that each item in the list of industries would have to be examined separately in order to arrive at a general result, but this could only be done by ascertaining the amount of duties actually paid upon raw materials, and taking the ratio which this bears to the

value of the products in the materials. The above results are mainly illustrative of the method by which a fair estimate can be made of what constitutes an offset to the alleged disadvantages under which our manufacturers operate. Anything above such rates cannot in fairness be imposed on imports from the United Kingdom, which does not charge duties on imports from this country. And if she should elect to charge such duties against our foreign competitors, so much the better for us.

FARMERS' CONSUMPTION.—It is very commonly pretended that the farmers of Canada are more anxious for the admission of articles of American production than for those coming from the United Kingdom. It is particularly insisted upon that the farmers are anxious to have the duty low on agricultural implements, as this is a very large item in the management of their farms. It is perfectly true that agricultural implements form a very large item in the classes of goods used by the farmers. The statistics show that more than \$10,000,000 is the annual consumption.

Of these the production of Canada according to the Census in 1901 was \$9,597,389; and the import, 1904, was \$2,638,691, total \$12,236,080. Less export, \$2,600,000, of which \$1,700,000 to British and \$900,000 to foreign countries. If we add to this carriages and waggons, which are also imported from the United States, these amount to the following sums: Canadian produce \$6,650,912, the import, 1904, \$1,428,716, total \$8,079,628. Export, 1904, about \$175,000. These two items, which might be grouped together, amount to an annual consumption of more than \$18,000,000.

There is, however, a very good reason for not admitting American agricultural implements free of duty, and that is, that our manufacturers are excluded from the American market. The farmers must have a sense of fair play, and they would not consider it fair that United States agricultural implements should be imported freely

into Canada while Canadian articles are excluded from the American market.

Nor would it be fair to the rest of the country that agricultural implements alone should be put on the free list, because if the Americans are to be allowed to select a few items in which they have a special advantage, they may very well grant reciprocity in these and still maintain a very high duty upon other Canadian manufactures and produce. Nor is there very grave danger of Canadian manufacturers charging unreasonable prices in such articles, because competition in Canada is pretty keen in this article. There are 114 different establishments in operation, and no combination can prevent some of these from bringing the price down to one that will give simply a living profit. The reason is that some of them are sure to be men of comparatively small capital, who cannot allow their stock to accumulate in order to keep up the price. They must make quick sales and therefore they must be content with reasonable profits. But, however important agricultural implements may be, it must not be lost sight of that the articles in which the United Kingdom, which is our best customer for the purchase of farmers' products, is able to furnish us with our supplies, are of very much greater importance to the farmers than agricultural implements.

Thus against \$18,000,000 paid for agricultural implements, including carriages, our people pay considerably over \$100,000,000 for certain articles of large consumption, the farmers as the largest class in the community taking their full share of these.

In men's and women's clothing our annual consumption is \$26,531,990, of which \$24,314,000 is made in Canada and \$2,237,000 imported.

In carpets, Canadian, \$633,192; imported, \$1,159,000; total, \$2,152,000. This import is mostly included among woollens mentioned below. The other items are distinct from one another as far as can be made out from the Census and Trade tables.

In cottons we consume \$20,498,021, of which \$12,033,052 is of Canadian produce, and \$8,464,969 imported.

In cordage Canada produced \$2,212,663; imported, \$248,169; total, \$2,460,852.

In cutlery and edge tools, Canadian produce, \$1,295,980; imported, \$650,780; total, \$1,947,760.

In drugs, Canadian produce, \$1,380,905; imported, \$2,203,032; total, \$3,583,937.

In flax, linen, etc., Canadian produce, \$338,176; imported, \$2,411,530; total, \$2,749,706.

In glass, Canadian produce, \$995,401; imported, \$1,983,781; total, \$2,279,182.

Gloves and mits, Canadian produce, \$1,024,245; imported, \$943,706; total, \$1,967,951.

Hats, caps and bonnets, Canadian produce, \$5,876,467; imported, \$2,183,174; total, \$8,059,641.

Hosiery and knit goods, Canadian produce, \$3,857,519; imported, \$1,098,874; total, \$4,956,393.

Leather, tanned, curried and finished, Canadian produce, \$12,068,600; imported, \$879,053; total, \$12,947,653.

Oils, Canadian produce, \$3,519,493; imported, \$3,082,027; total, \$6,601,520.

Rubber clothing, Canadian produce, \$401,000; imported, \$360,846; total, \$761,846.

Pottery, earthenware and china, Canadian produce, \$380,000; imported, \$1,611,356; total, \$1,991,356.

Sugar, \$13,169,000, which includes \$574,000 refined imported (Trade Tables, page 134, item 9) and \$12,595,000 produce of the Canadian refineries. The latter includes \$10,546,500 of material, chiefly raw sugar and sugar partly refined (Census, page xxiii.).

Wire, Canadian produce, \$1,693,995; imported, \$394,889; total, \$2,088,884.

Vinegar and pickles, Canadian, \$561,682; imported, \$279,014; total, \$840,696.

Woollen goods, Canadian, \$7,359,541; imported woollens, \$15,159,383; imported worsted, \$4,109,179; total, \$26,619,103.

RESUME OF PRINCIPAL ITEMS.

Woollen goods.....	\$26,600,000
Men's and Women's clothing.....	26,500,000
Cottons.....	20,500,000
Sugar.....	13,100,000
Leather : tanned, curried and finished.....	13 000,000
Hats, caps and bonnets.....	8,000,000
Hosiery and knit goods.....	5,000,000
Drugs, etc.....	3,600,000
Flax, Linen, etc.....	2,700,000
Glassware.....	2,300,000
Pottery, earthenware and china.....	2,000,000
Cutlery and edge tools.....	2,000,000
Carpets.....	\$2,100,000
Included in Woollens.....	1,500,000
	600,000
	\$125,900,000

The general conclusion is that Canada should be prepared to respond to any preference in her favour upon agricultural and other produce by making very large reductions in the rate of duty upon imports from British countries. This would be an advantage to merchants engaged in this traffic, to the shipping interest, and to the railways running east and west, but the greatest advantage would be to the consumer in Canada, while at the same time it would tend to foster intercommunication between British countries and would form an important material bond uniting the Mother Country and the Colonies together.

CANADA AND THE EMPIRE.

Address by the President, Rev. Professor Clark, D.D., D.C.L., at the opening meeting of the Empire Club of Canada, on Oct. 12th, 1905.

Mr. Chairman and Gentlemen,—

The subject upon which I desire to address you is that of "Canada and the Empire"; and, I think, that never in the history of our people has there been a moment in which such a subject would have excited a deeper interest or a keener sympathy.

So much, indeed, is this the case that some among us are almost growing weary of the subject as one which needs or even admits of no further discussion. On this point, they are ready to declare, there is no difference of opinion among us. We are all substantially of one mind with regard to our relations with the British Empire. With the exception of a few "cranks" no one thinks of annexation or independence; and the best answer to these is silence—to leave them alone.

No doubt there is a good deal to be said for such a view of the subject; yet, on the other hand, we have need to watch the currents of thought which have a way of changing, and to make sure that our own sympathies and lines of action rest not on momentary feelings but on deep and broad principles which will stand the test of time and the change of circumstance. It is not so very many years ago that an English statesman could use such language as this: "These wretched colonies will all be independent, too, in a few years, and are a millstone round our neck"; and it is said that at the time of that utterance, some fifty years ago, "Parliament was, as a rule, so little moved by Colonial concerns, that, according to Mr. Gladstone, in nine cases out of ten it was impossible for the Minister to secure Parliamentary attention, and in the tenth case

it was only obtained by the casual operations of party spirit."

There is no great danger—there is, we may say, no danger at all—of British public opinion falling so low in the future, but there is some danger of English people so failing to understand the sentiments and aspirations of the Colonies as to run the risk of alienating their affections.

In speaking of the relations between ourselves and the Mother Country some time ago, I ventured to say that we were a very loyal people, but we were also a very sensitive people. Old men and women often fail to understand that words which would pass unheeded by persons of their own age are apt to wound, and sometimes deeply, those who are young and susceptible; and there is a danger that something of the same kind may take place from our people in the Old World failing to understand the effect produced upon ourselves by their words and by their policy.

For these and other reasons it is not unnecessary that we should, from time to time, seriously consider what are the bases of our convictions, our sympathies, and our purposes in regard to the Empire and our relations to the same. And this question may be answered in a narrower or a more extended fashion, according to our point of view. We shall, perhaps, be wiser, if we consider it, as far as possible, in all its various bearings. Certainly the limited, the parochial spirit will not be the best. There is no temper more hurtful than the narrow and the selfish. And those who would bid us think only of ourselves, ignoring the claims of the people from whom we sprang and the interests of humanity at large, are probably our most unsafe guides and our worst enemies.

'Well, then, first of all, we are not going to cut ourselves off from the land of our fathers; we are not going to disown the land, or the people, or their history. I remember an American gentleman telling me of the emotions with which he first set foot on the shores of England. He felt an irresistible impulse to kneel down

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on the soil which was consecrated to him by a thousand traditions and a thousand memories. And I do not wonder—who can speak of it or think of it without profound emotion—that land, that people, that history! Do we think of England? “England,” says Byron, “England, thy beauties are tame and domestic,” and yet those who have roamed in many lands and have contemplated the fairest sights presented by nature, will tell us that there is nothing lovelier on earth than the hills and vales, the streams and meadows of that land which God seems peculiarly to have blest. Or shall we think of that land, so dear to its own children, which its greatest son described as the

Land of brown heath and shaggy wood,
Land of the mountain and the flood?

or of that sweet country from which the blessed St. Patrick drove forth all mischievous reptiles, which its children delight to designate, “the Emerald Isle”—

The first flower of the earth, the first gem of the sea.

Shall we turn our backs upon such lands? Shall we not rather make the language of the Psalmist our own:

If I forget thee, O Jerusalem,
Let my right hand forget her cunning.

And how do we feel, if we turn from the land to the people? I know not what answer others may give to this question; but I have, at least, no hesitation about my own. When I stand face to face with this great people, or—if you prefer it—with these great peoples—this great Anglo-Celtic race, to which I claim to belong—rejoicing alike in my Saxon and my Celtic origin—when I contemplate this great people, I feel myself, for the moment at least, larger, truer, stronger, better, than before. And I know not which division of them I love and honour the most.

Kinglake, in his history of the Crimean War, tells us that, in the charge of the Heavy Dragoons at Balaclava, there were two great regiments present, the great Irish

regiment of the Inniskillings, and the great Scotch regiment of the Greys; there was also a contingent of English Cavalry, the Royals, I think.

Kinglake says, the two great regiments went into the charge in a manner characteristic of the two nations. The Irish went in with a cheer; the Scotch with a low, fierce moan of rapture, the rapture of fighting. He does not tell us how the English went in—probably in grim silence with clenched teeth, gripping their sabres, bearing down—as the others were doing—all that came in their way. Which of them do you admire? All three. Which of them do you prefer? I cannot tell. But this I can say, that I should be proud to belong to any one of the three; and that I regard the combination as presenting a type of character such as the world has never otherwise seen. And is this the type of humanity which I am asked to disown? from which I am asked to break myself off? I have no need to hesitate in answering that question.

If I turn from the people to their history, and ask what they have done, I can give no different answer.

That land, watered with the tears of penitents and saints, stained with the blood of heroes and martyrs, bears witness to a history which has been a benediction to mankind.

Think of our liberties; think of our institutions; think of our language and literature. These are possessions which we can only mention. Our liberties! Nowhere else have these words received such complete fulfilment:

For freedom's battle, once begun,
Bequeathed by bleeding sire to son,
Tho' baffled oft, is ever won.

Our language! the most perfect vehicle known to man for the expression of feeling, for the conveyance of thought—and here I do not forget the beautiful lucidity of the French—the depth of the German—a language equally at home in literature, in science, in every department of human thought and action.

And our literature! But here I am all but silent;

for I cannot, in a few words, tell of the glories of Shakespeare and Chaucer and Spenser and Milton and Coleridge and Tennyson and many more.

If any there be whose nature is not thrilled by such memories, of such an one, we can only take up the language of Scott, and say—

The wretch, concentr'd all in self,
Living shall forfeit fair renown,
And doubly dying, shall go down
To the vile dust from whence he sprung
Unwept, unhonour'd, and unsung.

This Empire then, to which we belong, is worth preserving, worth adorning, worth handing on to posterity.

Spartan nactus es: hanc exorna,

is true of the British Empire as of Sparta.

How do the words of our great dramatist come back to us:

This Royal throne of Kings, this sceptred isle,
This earth of majesty, this seat of Mars,
This other Eden, demi-paradise,
This fortress built by Nature for herself
Against infection and the hand of war,
This happy breed of men, this little world,
This precious stone set in the silver sea,
This blessed plot, this earth, this realm, this England.

But for all this we do not forget our own land, in which we have our life and maintenance and work. We, too, are willing to adopt the motto of "Canada first," for our first duty lies at our own doors; but we are so far from thinking that the fulfilment of the duty to the Empire will prove any detriment to Canada, that we are certain the reverse will be the case. We cannot do our duty to Canada without doing our duty to the Empire. When we most truly serve the one, we shall best serve the other.

And let us ask candidly: What shall we gain by breaking off our connection with the Mother Country? What good thing could we then possess which is not now within our reach? What is there that a well

ordered government provides for those who live under its influence which we do not possess? Life, liberty, free scope for the exercise of all our powers, equitable laws enforced with justice and clemency. We cannot complain of our laws, for we make them ourselves, and we can alter them when we like. Has any one, whether a citizen of our commonwealth or a visitor from another land, complained that they are oppressive or unfair?

If anything can be thought of as an occasion of complaint, it is that we do not pay for our own protection; and the most thoughtful and honourable men among us are now often reminding us of this duty, and of the obligation to the performance of it.

As regards our national importance, who can believe that it would be enhanced by our ceasing to be a portion of that glorious Empire on which the sun never sets? I am not forgetting the potentialities of this great Dominion. They are vast, immense beyond the power of any of us to estimate. But I am not persuaded that they will be sooner or more perfectly realized by our separation from Great Britain.

Besides, this is not the whole of the question. It is the opinion of some of the wisest men among us that separation from Great Britain would involve absorption into the great Republic to the south of us. It is even the opinion of some few among us that such extinction of our individual national existence would be a benefit to us. Now, I must confess that I have a great admiration for the United States of America. I should be a fool if I had not. Moreover, I have a great esteem and affection for many of the citizens of that great country. But, apart from all sentiment—if it is possible to divest oneself of sentiment—I cannot see what we should gain by such a change and I can see that we should lose much. Let it be considered for a moment, that we have had a choice of ways of government. We might, to a large extent, have adopted the type of government which lies to the south of us, or we might have followed the way of the Mother-land. We have taken the latter course for the most part, deliberately, of our own free

choice. Why should we abandon this choice? Why should we enter upon paths which we have deliberately avoided? I can see no answer to such a question, but that which bids us be true to our own traditions. I may be wrong. Time will show whether I am right or wrong. But at any rate I am expressing the settled convictions of an overwhelming majority of my fellow-citizens; and I am satisfied that they are resolved to give practical expression to them. What we have we mean to keep. Like the barons under King John: "*Nolumus leges Angliæ mutari.*" We have no mind to have the laws of our country changed.

But there is something else to be said on this subject. To what has our argument tended? We have been protesting against the idea of the dismemberment of the British Empire. Such an idea is intolerable to us as men sprung from the soil on which that Empire has its foundation. It is intolerable to us as Canadians, bound by sacred ties to our Motherland. But it is more than this. It tells us of that which, in our conscience we believe, would be a grievous injury to the whole human race. And this is an aspect of the question which, as Christians, nay, as members of the great human family, we have no right to ignore. We are all members one of another. We can set no bounds to our interest in mankind, to the duties which we owe to our race; and we have each of us to determine what shall be our relation to this duty. Shall we repeat the language of Cain: "Am I my brother's keeper?" or shall we adopt the words of a great American and say:

My country is the world; my countrymen are mankind?

To ask such questions is to answer them. It is impossible for us to be insensible to anything which contributes to the well-being of our fellowmen, and it is no spirit of boastfulness, it is the utterance of truth and soberness that declares that of human institutions none has been so beneficial to mankind as that type of civilization which has been realized in the Constitution and history of the British Empire. Our fathers have not

only gained liberty for themselves; they have also set an example to the nations of the earth. They have taught them to discriminate between liberty and license. They have taught them how to contend for a rational and permanent liberty, how to exercise it, how to preserve it.

Look abroad upon the civilized world and ask from whence its inhabitants have learned their lesson; and you are led back to those little islands in the northern seas, where freedom has been, if not born, at least cradled, nurtured, and brought to maturity.

I ask myself what nation, what people on the face of the earth could be benefited, what people would not be injured by the downfall or degradation of the British Empire?

I have hardly left myself time to refer to schemes and suggestions for the strengthening of our connection with the Empire. One of these, brought forward by a member of the Imperial Parliament, an ex-Minister of the Crown, has recently received a large amount of attention in Great Britain; and I think I may say that, in its main lines, it has the sympathy of men of wisdom and experience among ourselves. That the Mother Country should arrange to give some kind and degree of preference to her colonies and dependencies—that these children of the great Mother should offer advantages to the nation from which they sprung—this seems to most of us one of the most reasonable ideas, and I do not despair of seeing something of the kind accomplished, even before my own life shall end.

But, however, this may be, I believe that the great forces now in motion are tending not to separate and isolate us, but to bind us more closely together; and we, for our part, and I speak for the overwhelming majority of Canadians, are resolved that we will help on that movement with all our might.

It has been said—Every Canadian is a Briton and every Briton who sets his foot on Canadian soil is a Canadian. By our loyalty to the one country we prove our loyalty to the other. God grant that we may be worthy of both!

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